









Prince Maurice and John of Barneveldt.

See p. 238.

HEROES OF HOLLAND:

THE

FOUNDERS AND DEFENDERS OF THE
DUTCH REPUBLIC.

BY

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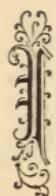


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PREFACE.



WRITE this book for the instruction especially of American youth, who need to know whence came those principles and methods of civil and religious liberty which make the glory of our republic, and to be familiar with the history of those great souls who in the dark and stormy past sowed the seed from which we reap the harvest.

Those who wish to read more on this subject will find ample satisfaction in the three great works of the lamented Motley, "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," "The History of the United Netherlands," and "The Life and Death of John Barneveldt," which have been my chief and best authorities for these pages.

C. K. T.

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HEROES OF HOLLAND.

Chapter I.

PHILIP II ACCEDES TO THE SPANISH THRONE—HIS CHARACTER—DUCHESS OF PARMA MADE GOVERNOR OF THE NETHERLANDS—WILLIAM OF ORANGE—THE “GEUX”—DISTURBANCES—ALVA APPOINTED VICEROY—BATTLE—DE LA MARCK—WILLIAM INVADES BRABANT AND OTHER PROVINCES—ALVA RECALLED—DON LOUIS DE RESEQUENS—SIEGE OF LEYDEN—PACIFICATION OF GHENT—DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA—FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC—HENRY OF ANJOU IS CHOSEN SOVEREIGN—HIS DEATH—WILLIAM OF ORANGE ELECTED IN HIS STEAD—HE IS ASSASSINATED.

UPON the abdication of Charles V, Spain and the united Netherlands fell to his son, Philip II, as hereditary sovereign. Through his marriage with Mary of England, and with his American possessions, Philip was the most powerful monarch of Europe; but his genius for government was small, and his temper was gloomy and tyrannical. In every way he was unsuited

for his subjects of the Netherlands. He could not tolerate the opinions of a republican people, and his excessive pride was offended by their independent manners and freedom of speech. But what was still worse was his mistaken zeal in religion, which led him to persecute and destroy all whose tenets differed from his own. He was a bigoted Catholic, and his chief concern was to extend and strengthen the authority of the papal Church.

Accustomed to the exercise of the most unlimited despotism in Spain, he could not bear with patience that any limit should be set to his authority in the Netherlands, and resolved to reduce the inhabitants to subjection by any means, however unjust or cruel. His great aim was the suppression of heresy, or, in other words, the extermination of Protestantism in the Low Countries. With this view he created fourteen new bishoprics of the Catholic Church, thus making eighteen, instead of four, as formerly; and he appointed the new bishops himself, taking care that they should all be devoted to his interests and willing to

carry out his schemes. One of these he made primate—a dignity heretofore unknown in the Netherlands. Philip sent also a great number of Spanish troops into all the provinces, who lived at free quarters on the inhabitants, and committed with impunity every sort of outrage; while the provincial governors received orders to declare all Protestant meetings illegal, and to punish with the utmost rigor all persons attending them.

The duchess of Parma, Philip's half-sister, was appointed to administer the affairs of the government, with the assistance of a council of state. This council assumed a higher degree of power than was consistent with the constitution of the country, and some of the provinces refused to obey its edicts. This effort to maintain their liberties was looked on by the king as in the highest degree disloyal or traitorous, and he determined to suppress it.

But happily for the people there were among the governors of the provinces several liberal-minded statesmen, who, though themselves Catholics, protected the Protestants in the states from perse-

cution. The most distinguished of these were William of Nassau, prince of the French principality of Orange, and the count of Egmont; the former being stadholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, the latter governor of Flanders and Artois. Both occupied seats in the council, and were knights of the Golden Fleece, the highest order of knighthood in the Spanish states. These noblemen were sorry to see the rights of the people outraged and themselves cruelly treated; for some were put to death, others were imprisoned, and their estates confiscated, or were banished without the means of procuring an asylum elsewhere. The entire country was stirred by these proceedings, and seemed ready to break out into a revolt. The duchess of Parma would gladly have restored peace by making concessions to the people, but this the king would not permit; and she could only join the prince of Orange and Count Egmont in addressing a remonstrance to her brother, and urging the necessity of revoking some of his edicts against the Protestants. Many of them were seeking security in flight, and they

were of the best class of citizens. Their leaving was a great injury to the country, as it took away both skill in manufactures and the prosperity that springs from them.

The representations made by these princely personages had no other effect than to increase his displeasure towards his subjects in the Netherlands, and, so far from annulling any of his decrees, he passed others still more severe; and that they might be enforced, he established the Inquisition in the chief provinces. The introduction of this hateful tribunal was an evidence of his determination to proceed to the bitter end. A powerful confederacy was accordingly formed in defense of the public rights, which became celebrated under the name of the Geux, or “Beggars.” This title was given to them, and they assumed it themselves, from the following circumstance. A great number of the chief nobility assembled for the purpose of drawing up a manifesto addressed to the governor, setting forth the grievances of the people, and begging that they might be redressed. A deputation of about

four hundred gentlemen, headed by Count Lewis of Nassau, a brother of the prince of Orange, and Henry de Brederode, a descendant of the ancient counts of Holland, went to Brussels to present the petition, and walked in procession through the city to the palace, amid an immense crowd of spectators. The duchess received them politely, but one of her courtiers was heard to whisper in her ear that she had not much to fear from such a company of beggars; and this term, originally uttered in contempt, was adopted by the confederates as a distinctive appellation, perhaps to show how little they regarded the intended insult. All through the long period of civil war that followed, it was only another word for patriots.

Disturbances now broke out in several of the great towns, especially in Antwerp. The lower orders, assisted by the Protestant peasantry, furiously assailed the Catholic churches, tearing down the decorations, and destroying the altars and images. The magnificent cathedral at Antwerp was despoiled, and its fine organ destroyed. Some

convents, too, were broken into, and the inmates compelled to seek safety in flight. The patriots of the higher classes were much alarmed at these violent proceedings, and some of the nobles withdrew from the country. The prince of Orange and his friends, the counts Egmont and Horn, resigned their seats in the council, but refused to identify themselves with the Geux. To quell the rising insurrection, Philip determined to send the duke of Alva into the Netherlands at the head of ten thousand soldiers, hoping to reduce the people to obedience. On the news of his approach thousands of the best tradesmen, mechanics, and manufacturers, with their families and such property as they could carry with them, fled to England and Germany. Elizabeth, who had now succeeded Mary on the throne of England, gave them every encouragement in her power to come to that country; for she disliked Philip, and hoped to cripple his influence and authority in the Low Countries. England gained immensely by this forced emigration. Many of the towns which had decayed again became populous and

thriving, from the number of silk weavers, dyers, woolen and linen manufacturers, and market and flower gardeners who had come into them.

The duchess of Parma resigned her authority, and the duke of Alva was appointed to succeed her. He entered the provinces as viceroy, with unlimited authority. The horrors of his reign can not be written. They were only excelled in modern times during the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution. Protestants and Catholics alike suffered. Detachments of soldiers were sent into all the principal towns, and the courts of the Inquisition, which had been suppressed, were again established. Counts Egmont and Horn were arrested, and, though both Catholics, and innocent of any act of disloyalty, yet because they were enemies of oppression, were tried before the fatal tribunal at Brussels, and beheaded in the market-place. The prince of Orange and his brothers Lewis and Adolphus were summoned to appear before the council; but they were too wise to trust themselves within its reach. Besides, they were engaged in concerting measures

to restore peace and freedom to the country. Assisted by Elizabeth of England, who supplied him with money, and by some of the Protestant princes of Germany, who furnished him men, the prince of Orange marched into the Netherlands at the head of a considerable army; but he was defeated in two battles, and his brother Adolphus slain. Deeply grieved at the failure of his enterprise, the prince retired into France, and kept watch for a more favorable opportunity of commencing hostilities against his foe.

The favorable opportunity at length arrived. The cruelties of Alva had become unendurable, and to revenge them, and especially the deaths of Egmont and Horn, a nobleman named William de la Marck, count of Lunoy, took command of a band of corsairs against him. This band was composed mostly of merchants who had been ruined by the troubles of the times, and had been driven by despair to resort to piracy on the Spanish shipping to retrieve their fortunes.

Headed by La Marck, a fleet of pirate vessels surprised the town of Brille, on the island of

Voorne, between Holland and Zealand. They speedily drove the Spaniards from it, and remained its masters. This success encouraged all the Dutch cities, except Amsterdam and Middelburg, which were strongly garrisoned, to revolt.

It was at this moment that the prince of Orange appeared. He entered the duchy of Brabant with a powerful army of French, English, and German troops, while his brother, Lewis of Nassau, marched into Hainault, and took possession of Mees, the capital of that province. In the war which followed La Marck's cruelties rivaled those of the duke of Alva, only they were inflicted as a retaliation on the Spaniards; but William of Orange was of a merciful temper, and dismissed La Marck from his post of chief commander. About the same time Alva was recalled by the king, and his place supplied by Duke Louis de Resequens, who arrived at Brussels in the month of November, 1573. The new governor at once abolished the council that had condemned so many citizens to death, and proclaimed a general pardon to the insurgents. He hoped by conciliatory

measures to restore peace and secure the loyalty of the revolted provinces; but, with the prospect of their entire independence from Spanish domination, they heeded not the temporary relief afforded through the personal character of the viceroy. The war went on. Two more princes of the house of Nassau fell, to the great grief of William of Orange; but he did not falter. Leyden was besieged by the Spaniards and reduced to an extremity, but it still held out. For some weeks there had not been a morsel of bread or meat within the walls. Wild herbs, with the flesh of horses and other animals unfit for human food, were all the distressed inhabitants had to eat; and many every day died from starvation. At length, when all hope seemed to fail, two carrier pigeons flew into the town, bringing the joyful tidings that relief was at hand; apprising the citizens at the same time of the means by which it was to be afforded. The prince of Orange, with the concurrence of the states general assembled at Dort, had come to the conclusion to cut the dikes which kept out the sea, and inundate the town and the

whole country for twenty leagues around. On the 3d of October, 1575, this was done. The sea, which was higher than usual, on account of equinoctial storms, rushed in with resistless force, and carried terror and destruction into the Spanish camp. Few of the enemy escaped. The town was speedily overflowed, and a little fleet of boats, laden with provisions, was sent to its relief. In commemoration of this event, the University of Leyden was founded by the prince of Orange, and the anniversary of the day on which the city was relieved is still kept.

The year following the siege of Leyden the duke of Resequens died, and, as the Spanish troops had not for some time been paid, they took advantage of this circumstance to rebel, and plundered several of the towns, particularly Antwerp. A great many families fled on this occasion to Amsterdam and other cities of Holland, the prosperity of which was increased by the ruin of the Flemish towns. The prince of Orange was now desirous of forming a union among the provinces for their mutual protection; and the states general

being assembled at Ghent, a treaty was signed between the states of Holland and Zealand, which had declared the prince of Orange their stadtholder, and most of the provinces of the Netherlands, by which they agreed to assist each other in expelling the Spaniards, restoring the ancient form of government, and establishing religious liberty all over the country. This treaty was called "the Pacification of Ghent."

Not long after this union of the provinces Don John of Austria, a half-brother of Philip, was appointed viceroy. At first he conducted himself with great moderation; but his ambition made him discontented with his limited power, and he secretly wrote to the king of Spain to send troops that he might force the people to obey him. This letter was intercepted by the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV of France, who sent it to the prince of Orange. The treachery of Don John was soon made public; and the states general, finding that no one could be trusted except the prince of Orange, sent to beg that he would take the sovereignty of the united provinces upon

himself. But some of the ancient nobility, jealous of the honor attained by William, offered the sovereignty of the Netherlands to the Archduke Matthias, brother of the Emperor Rudolph II. William made no opposition, and received Matthias heartily, who wisely retained the prince in authority. Don John now declared war against the new governor; but he had scarcely commenced hostilities when he suddenly died. His nephew, the prince of Parma, then became a claimant for the throne; but Queen Elizabeth sent fresh assistance to the patriots, and Amsterdam joined in the league against the Spaniards.

Don Matthias having returned to Germany, the governorship was offered to the duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III of France; but the prince of Orange saw that stronger measures were necessary to preserve the independence of the country, and he therefore formed a plan of uniting several of the Protestant states into one solid commonwealth; and this was the foundation of the seven United Provinces, or the Dutch Republic. These states together acquired the name

of Holland, while the rest of the Netherlands became known as Belgium. The deputies of Holland, Zealand, Guelders, Utrecht, Overyssel, Friesland, and Groningen met at Utrecht, and signed the compact which made their states a nation. The sovereignty of the new republic was offered to Queen Elizabeth; but, though she expressed her good wishes for its well-being, she did not think it prudent to accept it. The duke of Anjou was then chosen as sovereign, and the allegiance to Spain was renounced. William of Orange retained his rank and title as stadholder, but now became more prominently exposed to the enmity of Philip, who offered large rewards for his capture, dead or alive.

From that time the life of the stadholder was in jeopardy. On one occasion of festivity, as he was passing from the banqueting hall to another room in the palace, a petition was placed in his hands, and while he paused to read it the person who presented it drew a pistol and fired it at the head of the prince. The assassin was immediately seized by the guards and put to

death. The prince was seriously, but not mortally, wounded, and in a few months was able to be abroad. Soon after his recovery the duke of Anjou died, and the united provinces declared that William of Orange should be their sovereign. But Providence disposes of human events according to his own will, and the prince was destined never to sit upon the throne. Upon arriving at Delft, where he was to be inaugurated, in the month of July, 1584, he took up his residence, with his wife and children and other members of his family, in a house near the great church where the ceremonies were to take place. As he was passing along a narrow gallery leading from the dining-room to the grand staircase, a man, who had contrived to hide himself behind a pillar, stepped forth, and instantly discharged a pistol at his back. The illustrious victim fell into the arms of an attendant, exclaiming, "God have mercy on me! I am sadly wounded." He died a Protestant, leaving a name enrolled high among the heroes of truth and freedom.

Chapter II.

ACTION OF THE ESTATES AFTER THE DEATH OF ORANGE—
HIS WIDOW AND SONS—THE SIEGE OF ANTWERP—
COUNT MAURICE IN THE BATTLE OF THE DIKE—THE
CITY FORCED TO CAPITULATE—ALLIANCE WITH ENG-
LAND—COUNT MAURICE AND HIS MOTHER IN RELA-
TION TO THE TREATY—WILLIAM LEWIS, SON OF JOHN
OF NASSAU—MAURICE PLANS THE CAPTURE OF AXEL—
DEATH OF SIDNEY AT ZUTPHIN—LEICESTER'S RETURN.

AT the death of the Prince of Orange, those provinces which are now called Netherlands had freed themselves from the yoke of Philip II. The rest, with exception of East Flanders and South Brabant, which still contended for liberty, were reconciled to his despotic sway, and submitted their religious privileges to his dictation. Sixteen members of the estates of Holland met at Delft on that fatal 10th of July, 1584, when Orange was assassinated, and resolved “to maintain the good cause, with God’s help, to the uttermost, without sparing gold or blood.” Among

these noble patriots was John Van Olden Barneveldt, destined to become a distinguished figure in the future drama of political and religious strife. The estates earnestly entreated the lonely and afflicted widow of Orange—Louisa de Coligny—to make Holland her home, and settled upon her a liberal allowance for life. She accepted the invitation with gratitude, and with her infant, Frederick Henry, six months old, she settled at Leyden.

The states general established a temporary executive board, consisting of eighteen members, and elected Maurice, the son of Orange and Anna of Saxony, then only seventeen years of age, to be president, and fixed his salary at thirty thousand florins annually. He was a handsome youth, well educated at the University of Leyden, intelligent beyond his years, and firm, with a noble ambition to emulate his father's virtues. His motto was, "*Tandem fit circulus arbor.*" "The twig shall yet become a tree."

The arts and arms of Parma successively subdued the cities of Dendermonde, Ghent, Brussels,

and Mechlin. Antwerp alone of the great cities of the debatable regions of Flanders and Brabant remained to defy the Spanish tyrant. To capture this stronghold, the commercial capital of Netherland, was now the great adventure of the Spaniards. "If we get Antwerp," they said, "you shall all go to mass with us; if you save Antwerp, we will all go to conventicle with you."

William of Orange, in anticipation of the siege of this noble city, had suggested the plan by which it might be defended. It was to break the great dikes, and let in the ocean, so that this city, instead of having the Scheldt for its outlet to the sea, should be an ocean port, and give full access to the fleets of Zealand and Holland for its protection. This plan Sainti Aldegonde, now burgomaster of the city, urged upon the government with all the eloquence of which he was the great master; but it was effectually resisted by the guild of butchers, whose vast herds of oxen, grazing upon the wide extended pastures, would be swept away by the inundation. The colonels of the militia also protested against it, and declared

that the soldiers would not suffer the dikes to be broken. Moreover, it was declared by all the opposing parties that the River Scheldt could not be closed by Parma by any bridge or fortifications which could prevent the "beggars of the sea" from coming to the rescue.

Contrary to all their prophesies, the genius of Parma accomplished an impossible feat, and the bridge was built. He got possession of the opposite banks of the Scheldt, and built on them the forts of St. Mary and Philip to protect the workmen. Enormous piles were driven into the bed of the river, on each side; heavy timbers were laid upon them, and sleepers crossed on them twelve feet in length. Half of the work was thus accomplished, leaving the center of the river, where the current ran strongest, to be covered. This could only be done by a bridge of boats. Thirty-two barges, sixty-two feet in length and twelve in breadth, were anchored fore and aft by loose cables, in two rows, twenty-two feet apart, and covered by a frame-work of timbers and sleepers. A thick parapet was built on both sides of the entire

bridge. Block-houses were built at intervals along each end of the bridge, and two pieces of artillery were planted on each boat, one pointing up and the other down the river, through a breast-work of great strength. A fleet of twenty vessels was stationed at each fort, ten looking up the river round Antwerp, and ten down the river. The whole number of guns in the forts, ships, and boats was one hundred and seventy. In addition to all this, a raft was anchored a short distance from each side of the bridge, composed of heavy timbers, bound together in bunches of three, the spaces between being connected by ship-masts and lighter spar-work, and with a tooth-like projection along the whole outer edge, formed of strong rafters, pointed and armed with strong prongs and hooks of iron.

When the citizens of Antwerp beheld this bridge completed they could hardly believe their own senses, and declared it must be the magic work of devils! All felt it must be destroyed or Antwerp was lost. But what genius can imagine and contrive the means of doing it? He was

found in the person of Gianibelli, a native of Mantua, a man of science, a chemist, a skillful engineer, and somewhat acquainted with ship-building. He proposed an elaborate scheme which he deemed effectual; but, like the order of Orange, it was not agreed to by the timid government, and he had to content himself with an inferior measure. Two small vessels of eighty and ninety tons, named by him *Fortune* and *Hope*, were converted into infernal machines, and each filled with seven thousand pounds of gun-powder, and every imaginable missile of iron and stone, to blow up the bridge and scatter death on every side. The explosion on the *Fortune* was, at a proper time, to be brought about by a slow match, and on the *Hope* by a clock-work contrivance. These torpedo vessels were to be preceded by thirty-two smaller crafts, on an ebb tide, prepared as fire-ships and rams, to clear away the rafts and open a passage for the infernal machines.

On the 5th of April, 1588, at dark, the fire-ships were started for the bridge, under the direction of Admiral Jacob Zorn; but instead of

being dispatched as advised by Gianibelli, in squads at regular intervals of half an hour, they were sent down one after another and were immediately followed by the *Fortune* and *Hope*.

As soon as the expedition hove in sight, Parma, not knowing its character, called his troops to arms, and stationed them in all the defenses of the bridge, exactly in a position to be exterminated were the scheme of destruction to succeed. Soon the darkness was broken by the fire ships, and one after another they struck upon the rafts and burned out, or drifted upon the shore. Following them came the torpedo ships, and when near enough to the bridge to start the match and set the infernal clock, the captains left them in their yawls. The *Fortune* struck against the raft and then went ashore; the match did not burn down to the magazine, and after a slight explosion was extinguished by a party of volunteers, whom Parma distributed on board, headed by an Englishman named Rowland Torke. The *Hope* passed in sight, and struck the bridge near the bridge of boats. Then Marquis Richebourg, the chief engi-

neer of the bridge, stood laughing at the failure of the enterprise, and directed a party of men, who sprang on board to extinguish the fire. The Prince of Parma stood near, when Ensign Vega rushed to him, and on his knees begged him to return. The general at first refused, but soon after yielded and went to St. Mary's fort. The next moment he was prostrated by an awful explosion. The *Hope*, and that part of the bridge with which it was in contact, and a thousand soldiers and their commanders, including Richelbourg, were blown into the air, and fell back again in fragments of heads and limbs, with the shower of iron and stone missiles and fragments of the ship and the bridge, into the yawning abyss of the Scheldt. Parma was struck by a flying stake, and his page was killed at his side by the simple concussion of the air.

A breach was made in the bridge two hundred feet in width, and the Dutch fleet, with provisions for the city, might now have passed through without hindrance. But, alas! the signal rocket was not fired by the imbecile Jacobson, who,

stunned by the explosion for a time, yielded to a false report of his frightened boatmen, that the breach was not effected.

In a few moments the indomitable Parma was at the breach and saw with consternation that his great work was a ruin, and nothing in his power could prevent the fleet from passing up to the relief of the famishing city. But he betrayed no discouragement to his troops, and they were set to work to repair the damage. Great was the chagrin and grief in Antwerp when, three days after the event, a soldier sent to reconnoiter, brought the report that the bridge was broken, but the advantage of it was lost.

One more scene in this unparalleled siege we must take space to describe briefly: The great dike Koroenstyn, which ought to have been pierced while not yet possessed by the enemy, must now be seized and broken, or the last hope of Antwerp must be given up. Two forts were erected upon it by the Spaniards, and the whole length of it was commanded by heavy cannons. After one unsuccessful attempt to capture it a

thorough enterprise was organized by a concert of the Antwerpers and Hollanders. On Sunday morning, May 26, 1585, two hundred vessels approached the dike, part on the Zealand side, commanded by Hohenlo and Justinus de Nassau, and part on the Antwerp side, under Sainti Aldegonde. Four fire ships, dispatched from the Zealand fleet, first made their appearance, and awakened in the minds of the Spaniards fears of destruction similar to that preceded by the infernal machine that blew up the bridge. After them were seen the fleet of Hohenlo rowing hard for the dike. The Zealand troops landed, and rushed up the dike, to be met by the Spaniards, and pushed back into their forts, with the loss of their brave commander, Admiral Houltaim, who was accidentally drowned by falling in his heavy armor from his boat. At this moment the Antwerpers, under Aldegonde, arrived at the other side of the dike; the Spaniards were defeated, and the dike, for one mile between two of the forts, George and Palizachi, was captured. Among the troops from Zealand was Prince Maurice, the

youthful stadholder, who was now to commence that wonderful course of war which was to make his name memorable as one of the greatest captains of history. At once three thousand men set to work fortifying themselves by material higher in the boats, and, at the same time, beginning the destruction of the dike. In a short time a force swarmed out of the Spanish forts, led by Camillo de Morte, to arrest these operations and to drive the patriots from the dike. And soon amidst the roar of cannon from the fort and from the boats, a hand-to-hand conflict on this narrow strip of land went on for an hour with great slaughter on both sides. At last victory sided with the patriots; the Spaniards were driven off in both directions to the nearest forts. And now the work of breaking the dike at this point was successful, and the ocean began to pour through the breach. In the first barge which floated through both Aldegonde and Hohenlo took passage to carry the news of victory to Antwerp; but they did not truly estimate the valor of the enemy. While the siege of the Palisade was going on, a

volunteer force of Italians and Spaniards came to the rescue, and the patriots were compelled to fall back to their intrenchments. At this moment Parma himself arrived at the head of three hundred pikemen. Passing over the details of the engagement, we find at the critical moment five thousand men engaged, hand to hand and foot to foot, on the narrow causeway for a space of a mile, between forts George and Palisade. The patriots were pressed to their intrenchments, where they repelled four desperate assaults led by Parma in person. At the fifth the Spaniards were superstitiously inspired by a vision of the ghost of Don Pedro Pacchi, clad in well known armor and charging at the head of a spectre regiment. Under this enthusiasm they mounted the parapet themselves into the intrenchments, and the patriots were forced to give way. The tide was ebbing and the boats were obliged to stand off. At the sight of this a panic seized the patriots, and they rushed into the water, followed by the enemy, and made their escape by swimming and wading to the fleet. At Antwerp beacons, bonfires,

bells, and cannons were in every form announcing victory and the expected arrival of re-enforcements and supplies. A feast was given to Hohenlo, and he was in the third heaven of exultation when the report came that all was lost.

The final result of all these failures was the surrender of the city to Parma. The terms of the capitulation were more formal than could be expected: the garrison to leave with arms and baggage; entire and universal amnesty to the rebels; the possessions of the royalists to be restored, the Catholic religion to be exclusively tolerated. All refusing to conform were allowed two years to arrange their departure, and four hundred thousand florins were to be paid by the city as a fine.

After long negotiation and much political coqueting on the part of Elizabeth, queen of England, she at last agreed to furnish the Dutch a permanent force of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, on condition that the cities of Flushing and Briel should be security for payment of the debt, and that the cities should be garri-

sioned at her expense. She appointed her favorite, the earl of Leicester, to represent her as commander of the English forces. As Count Maurice had been elected stadholder of Holland and Zealand, Leicester had some suspicion that his authority would be circumscribed thereby. But Maurice in the most generous manner assured the queen that he would not stand in the way of Leicester's supreme authority over the troops.

"Madam, if I have ever had occasion to thank God for his benefits, I confess it was when, receiving in all humility the letters with which it pleased your majesty to honor me, I learned that the great disaster of my lord and father's death had not diminished the *débonnaire* affection and favor which it has always pleased your majesty to manifest to my father's house. It has been likewise grateful to me to learn that your majesty, surrounded by so many great and important affairs, had been pleased to approve the command which the states general have conferred upon me. I am indeed grieved that my actions can not correspond with the ardent desire I feel to

serve your majesty and these provinces, for which I hope that my extreme youth will be accepted as an excuse. And although I find myself feeble for the charge thus imposed upon me, yet God will assist my efforts to supply by diligence and sincere intention the defect."

He also concurred as proprietor, in the absence of his elder brother in Spain, of the town of Flushing, in the transfer of the town to Elizabeth as part guarantee. His mother and the other relatives joined him, indorsing the treaty with England, and the appointment of the earl of Leicester as general-in-chief and Sir Philip Sidney as governor of Flushing. He requested as a favor that, on exchange of prisoners, an effort might be made by the English queen to liberate his brother, Philip William, from his long captivity in Spain, and to defend the principality of Orange from the possible rapacity of the king of France.

On the arrival of the earl of Leicester at Flushing, with fifty ships and a grand retinue of English noblemen and gentry, Count Maurice, in company with the new governor, Sir Philip

Sidney, at the head of a grand procession of the military and of the civil authorities, met him at the wharf, and escorted him to his lodging.

In taking this position, Elizabeth identified herself with the fortunes of the Dutch republic, and exposed herself to the deadly hostility of the greatest monarch of the earth, and to the enmity of the pope and all Catholic powers under his immediate influence. On the other hand, by assisting the provinces in resisting the tyranny of Philip and maintaining their independence, she secured for herself a Protestant ally that would be as a breakwater to the all-grasping ambition of Philip II and the attempts of the pope to humiliate her and subject England again to his ecclesiastical dominion. The Hollanders always preferred alliance with England rather than to France, whose help they had sought in vain, and the enthusiasm of the people was unbounded when Leicester made his appearance among them. "There was such a noise made in Delft, Rotterdam, and Dort," wrote Leicester, "in crying

'God save the queen!' as if she had been in Cheapside."

The widow of Orange wrote to Walsingham, the secretary of Elizabeth: "We see now the effects of our God's promises. He knows when it pleases him to avenge the blood of his own, and I confess that I feel a joy that is shared by the whole Church of God. There is none that has received more wrong from these murderers than I have done, and I esteem myself happy in the midst of my miseries that God has permitted me to see some vengeance. These beginnings make me hope that I shall see yet more, which will be no less useful to the good, both in your country and in these isles." The vengeance of the Almighty was truly coming upon the bigoted and cruel tyrant of Spain; for his power was so broken by the destruction of the Great Armada, which resulted from the present alliance of England with the provinces, that it never after regained its former prestige, and has gone on declining in power and glory to this hour.

Among the members of the Nassau family who

welcomed Leicester was William Lewis, governor of Friesland, and son of John, the only surviving brother of the Prince of Orange. "Here is another little fellow," wrote Leicester, "as little as may be, but one of the gravest and wisest young men that I ever spoke withal."

As we have seen the youthful Maurice in his first battle on the Great Dike, so now we find him planning for the first time an expedition against the enemy. It was to capture the fortified city of Axel, situated about twenty miles south-east of Flushing, on the other side of the Scheldt, thereby to make Flushing and Hague more secure. Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney approved of the plan. On the night of July 16, 1586, five hundred men under Sidney, and as many more under Lord Willoughby, passed in boats up the Scheldt to Ter Neuse, a few miles from Axel, where they were joined by Maurice, at the head of near two thousand troops. The whole moved on in silence, and arrived at the city an hour after midnight. The moat was deep, and could be crossed only by swimming; but forty

picked men with ladders swam across, scaled the walls, and surprised and killed the guard. The gates were then opened to the troops, who rushed in, and captured or killed the entire garrison of five hundred men, without the loss of a single man. Colonel Byron, who led the advanced corps, was left with eight hundred men to guard the city. They pierced the dikes and let in the sea, to the utter destruction of about two millions' worth of property in grass, grain, and cattle on the plains. Sir Philip Sidney, to whom much of the credit of this expedition belongs, rewarded out of his own purse the forty brave men who swam the moat and scaled the walls.

It was not long after this that Sir Philip lost his life at the siege of Zutphen, in an attempt to capture a train of supplies sent by Parma under a strong guard to relieve the city. An ambuscade was set by Sir John Norris, of two hundred cavalry and three hundred pikemen, to be supported by a large reserve force of infantry. The number of the enemy was upwards of five thousand men, a disparity of which the English commander

was ignorant. In the gray mist of early morning the noise of the approaching wagons announced their arrival to the small band of the English. Just then appeared about fifty of the chief officers of Leicester's army, including Willoughby, Essex, North, Audley, Stanley, Pelham, Bond, the Sidneys, and the Norrises, noblemen and gentlemen with their squires, who were determined to take part in the affray. Without regard to the overwhelming superiority of the Spaniards, the poor earl of Essex cried to his immediate attendants, "Follow me, good fellows, for the honor of England and England's queen!" and dashed upon the foremost of the Spanish cavalry. One hundred and fifty of the English cavalry followed, and at the first charge they hurled the Spanish cavalry back upon their infantry. They then wheeled under the fire of the enemy, and returned to reform, and renew the attack. On the second charge Sir Philip Sidney had his horse shot under him, but mounted another, and continued the fight. At the last charge he rode full up to the intrenched camp, when a bullet struck him above the knee.

Finding his limb shattered, making it difficult to manage the strange horse on which he rode, he wheeled and retired to the intrenchments, a mile and a half distant. As he passed, an attendant brought him a flask of water to quench his thirst, which soldiers find more intolerable than mortal wounds. A wounded English soldier, who was being carried to the rear, looked up to him so wistfully that he passed the flask to him, saying, "Thy necessity is greater than mine." The dying soldier accepted the favor, took a draught, and returned the bowl, when Sidney pledged him in the residue. He was afterwards carried to the camp, and thence to Arneheim, where he died. His last moments were spent in discoursing, with Tourlin, upon the immortality of the soul. His last words to his brother Robert were, "Above all, govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator; in me beholding the end of this world, with all her vanities." He would have escaped the fatal wound had he not, with romantic heroism, left off his cuishes, upon seeing the aged Sir William Pelham going to

battle in the lightest armor. The battle of Zutphen, though but a skirmish, will ever be celebrated for the astonishing bravery of the English in attacking, with five hundred and fifty men, an army of Spaniards. It was unsuccessful; for when the main body of the army came up it was vain to resist any further. The train of supplies entered the besieged city.

Leicester wrote that he was unable to restrain the nobles and generals who took part in it. "But," he adds, "since they are so well escaped (some my dear brethren), I would not for ten thousand pounds but they had been there, since they have all now the honor they have. Your lordship never heard of such desperate charges as they gave upon the enemies in face of their muskets." Only thirty-five of the English were slain, while two hundred of the Spaniards fell, among them Hannibal Gonzago, the leader of the cavalry.

This battle occurred October 2, 1586, New Style. At the end of the month Leicester announced to the state council that he intended to return temporarily to England. His administra-

tion had not given the best satisfaction from the beginning. The queen had refused the sovereignty, and she censured him for allowing the states general to make him governor-general. She had afterwards rescinded her interdict; but he never got the better of the disparagement in the view of the people. His aristocratic sentiments made him uneasy under the dictation of the states general and of the provincial states, to which by the constitution of the republic deference had to be paid by the states general and the governor-general and his council in matters particularly affecting a province. Two parties were formed, one favoring the claims of the governor, which he pretended was the party of the people, and the other insisting on the prerogatives of the states general and the provincial states. He declared, however, that it was not on account of any disaffection toward the government or the people that he designed to leave the republic, but to attend a meeting of the Parliament at Westminster, to which he had been summoned.

He proposed that Prince Maurice should ac-

company him as the head of the embassy which had been appointed to visit the queen. But the principal statesmen, especially Barnendo, objected to this, as it would leave the country without a head while passing through a dangerous crisis. It was agreed, finally, that the government should be left with the state council, and its decrees be pronounced in the honor of Leicester as governor-general, and countersigned by Prince Maurice. At his departure he received from the states a present of a magnificent silver-gilt vase which cost nine thousand florins, and so large that it could only be gilded at "the peril of the artisan's life." Sir John Norris was made commander-in-chief of all the English troops during the interregnum. At this time the new republic, notwithstanding the expenses of the war, was, on the whole, in a state of great and increasing prosperity, which presented a total contrast to the unhappy condition of the provinces which had submitted to the sway of Philip. These large sections of the country had gone back to barbarism. Trade was stagnant, the mechanics and manufacturers had

emigrated to England or to Holland and Triesten, and in place of them robbers infested the country, and burglary and stealing have been the order of the day. The wolves littered in the ruins of palace and cottage, and the fox and wild boar wandered unmolested over the desolate farms. The Roman priests exercised their offices without objection, and there was a vast increase of confessions and indulgences.

Chapter III.

COUNT MAURICE—THE EARL OF LEICESTER DEPARTS—DEVENTER—THE FORT OF ZUTPHEN—WAUM AND GELDERS SURRENDERED BY TRAITORS—WRETCHED STATE OF THE ENGLISH TROOPS—ELIZABETH CONTEMPLATES TRIALS IN DUTCH ENVOYS—SENDS BUCKHURST TO NETHERLANDS TO MAKE INQUIRIES—PARTIES IN THE LAND—INTOLERANCE OF THE CALVINISTS—STATES GENERAL MAKES MAURICE COMMANDER IN CHIEF, AND CONFERS SUPREME AUTHORITY IN CIVIL MATTERS ON THE STATE COUNCIL—LEICESTER'S RETURN ANNOUNCED—BAD TREATMENT OF SIR JOHN NORRIS—WILKES AND BUCKHURST ON THEIR RETURN HOME.

THE young stadholder, Prince Maurice, was at this time but nineteen years of age. Like his father, he was taciturn, thoughtful, and self-possessed. His studies were chiefly mathematical, and such as pertained to the arts of war and to politics. He amused himself with wooden blocks and painted images of soldiers, making fortifications and marshaling troops in various combinations. He was modest and retiring in deportment,

listening attentively to men of experience with whom he was associated, and taking his place regularly at the council-board to hear the discussions on the questions of state policy, economy, and jurisprudence which came up. He was notably temperate, and though often with his hard-drinking relative, Count Hohenlo, never yielding to his influence.

The earl of Leicester, at his departure, gave a separate and secret commission to Sir William Stanley, governor of the city of Deventer, and to Rowland York, commander of the important fort opposite Sutphen, by which they were to exercise a government independently of Sir John Norris. Both of these men betrayed their trust, and surrendered the city and the fort to the Spaniards, proving themselves consummate villains, though Stanley protested that he did it for conscience' sake, being a Roman Catholic. The Castle of Waum was betrayed into the hands of Parma by Le Marchand, a Frenchman, for sixteen thousand florins. Aristotle Patton, a Scotchman, in the absence of Schenk, was put in

command of Gelders, when he seized the opportunity of bargaining with Parma to surrender the city for thirty-six thousand florins, and the confiscation to him of all the movable property of his superior. With this sudden wealth he captivated the widow Noyelle, who had previously declined his suit and pledged her hand to Seigneur de Champagny. On the day on which she had fixed for her marriage to the seigneur she was wedded to the traitor.

These events taken together, though Leicester was not responsible for the appointment of the French or Scotch traitors, made a deep impression on the minds of the Hollanders, and awakened a horrible suspicion that the English were plotting, like Anjou, to betray the country. This fear was aggravated by the neglect of the queen to provide food and clothing for her troops, which made it necessary for them to prey upon the country they came to succor. They wandered about, robbing the peasants and seizing provisions and clothing wherever they could lay their hands upon them. A corps of five hundred cavalry

made a desperate foray into Holland to keep themselves from actual starvation. Count Maurice sent an order to them to make an immediate retreat on pain of being arrested by the Dutch army. The immediate necessities of the English troops were relieved by the Councilor Wilkes borrowing, on his own responsibility, £800, and paying the soldiers thirty shillings a man. A letter to the earl of Leicester was prepared by Barneveldt, at the request of the states general, blaming him for the deplorable state of things. Councilor Wilkes entered the assembly just as the letter was about to be read. He thought it was too severe, and so he remarked. He was fearful that it might have a bad effect in England, and sought the influence of Count Maurice and other leading men to have it kept back or modified. But it was dispatched a few days after and reached its destination. The fears of the nation were aroused that nothing but harm could come from the rule of Leicester. It was determined that Count Maurice should now more explicitly than before assume the title of Prince, to establish

a rank superior to that of the earl or any other English nobleman who might be sent in his place. He was also provisionally made governor-general, and Count Hohenlo was appointed his lieutenant-general.

The deputies had an interview with Queen Elizabeth and her chief ministers, and made a fair statement of the affairs of the country and the administration of Leicester; and at the conclusion asked the queen to increase her contingent of troops to twelve thousand, and to loan sixty thousand pounds. The queen listened with impatience, and then arose, and in French delivered a scorching reply, in which she charged the Hollanders with neglecting to do their part, and exaggerated her own appropriations to an absurd degree. She swore that she had been badly treated, and would do no such thing as they desired. She then swept out of the council chamber, and left the company confounded at her false representations and insolence. She asserted that leading men had been tampered with by the Spaniards.

In a few days the letter to Leicester arrived, with the charge of giving secret commissions to men who had proved traitors, and otherwise censoring his administration. This made the queen more angry still, and she declared that Leicester should never return to such a faultfinding and ungrateful people. But he after a while thought better of it, believing that the mass of the people were his friends and against the course of the principal statesmen. "There is nothing," he said, "sticks in my stomach but the good will of that poor afflicted people, for whom, I take God to record, I could be content to lose any limb I have to do them good." The queen, however, was so niggard in regard to his support that he was disgusted and discouraged. The conclusion of the imbroglio was that Lord Brockhurst was sent to the Netherlands on a commission of inquiry, and Lord Leicester went for his health to the waters of Bath!

The ambassador was a man every way fitted, by personal appearance, address, culture, intelligence, energy, and honesty of purpose, to under-

take a thorough investigation of the state of affairs, and to prepare the way for the return of Leicester. At the outset he was struck and distressed by the wretched condition of the English soldiery, hundreds of whom came round him begging for daily bread. "For Jesus' sake," he wrote back immediately, "hasten to send relief with all speed." Among the Leicester party, who wished all power to be deposited with the govenor-general, were the Calvinistic clergy, who, knowing that he was of their faith, believed that he would root out the papists and confiscate the property of the Catholic Churches. At that time the idea of toleration had taken possession of but few minds outside of the states general. "The nobles and cities constituting the states," said these more enlightened statesmen, "had been denounced to Lord Leices-
ter as enemies of religion, because they had refused the demand of certain preachers to call a general synod in defiance of the states general, and to introduce a set of ordinances, with a sys-
tem of discipline according to their arbitrary wish. This the late Prince of Orange and the states

general had always thought detrimental to religion and polity. They respected the difference in religious opinions, and leaving all Churches in their freedom they chose to control no one's conscience, a course which all statesmen, knowing the diversity of human opinions, had considered necessary in order to maintain fraternal harmony."

"Such words," says Motley, "shine through the prevailing darkness of the religious atmosphere at this epoch like characters of light. Individuals walking in advance of the age had enunciated such truths, and their voices had seemed to die away; but at last a little, struggling, half-developed commonwealth had proclaimed the rights of conscience for all mankind—for papists and Calvinists, Jews and Anabaptists."

The good sense of Lord Brockhurst soon led him to see the folly and mischief of stirring up the people and the Churches against the long-recognized authority of the states general, in order to substitute a despotic government. Deventer, on the other hand, wrote to Leicester to hasten his return; for the way was prepared for him to assume the

uncontrolled government of the land. Through Brockhurst's influence, Count Hohenlo made up his quarrel with Sir John Norris, who cherished a mortal hatred to Leicester, and declared he would never again be "commanded by him." He believed that Leicester had plotted to assassinate him, and so declared to several persons. This was reported to Leicester, and his wrath and indignation infected the queen; and she dictated a letter in cipher to Brockhurst to seize Hohenlo and imprison him, on some pretense that he was tampering with the Spaniards. It was deciphered by Wilkes, and both he and the ambassador were aghast at the order; but they both saw how absurd it was, and what a convulsion it must create to take such measures against one of the most powerful chiefs of the nation, whose loyalty no nation could suspect.

The states decreed a levy of a million of florins (£100,000) for the war, in expectation that Elizabeth would make a loan to them of half that sum; but in spite of all the protestations of her counsilors at home, and of Brockhurst, that her sol-

diers were starving, and that the enemy was about to take advantage of their necessities, she held back. What infatuation was it that possessed the queen? It was the influence of Leicester and the whispers of peace that came from secret communication with Parma. That woman's heart, which, when the crisis came and the Armada threatened her dominions, grew bold as a lion, was made to hesitate and vacillate by the sinister notions of her favorite and the dread of a war with the greatest monarch of the earth. Had she been a deeply religious woman, and at heart a real Protestant, she would have been more decided.

Among the most preposterous things done by Elizabeth were her instructions to Brockhurst to sound the people and the government in respect to making peace with Spain, to which they were unalterably opposed, and then denying these instructions, and blaming him for following them as far as he did follow them.

On the 5th of June, 1587, the states general met at the Hague and adopted two propositions:

1. That as the Spaniards were laying siege to Sluys, the Prince Maurice be appointed captain-general in the absence of the governor-general.
2. That the state council should have supreme government over civil affairs, and all secret limitations of the powers made by Leicester be repealed.

The vote was hardly passed before, to the surprise of all, even Brockhurst and Wilkes, a courier arrived, with letters from Leicester stating that he was on his way, and summoning the council and the states general to meet him at Dort. The council adjourned to dinner; but upon reassembling they reaffirmed both resolutions.

The states general were preparing to manage the affairs of the nation and the conduct of the war, whatever might be the disposition of the English queen in respect to them. They saw the Leicester policy, which was fully unfolded in two intercepted letters, would be abortive and unconstitutional; and they had reason to apprehend that Elizabeth was inclined to make peace with Spain without regard

to their interests. It is an everlasting disgrace to her name that her faithful servants, on their return to England, were treated as enemies. Sir John Norris was excluded from the court, Brockhurst was banished to his country-seat, and Wilkes was sent to the Fleet Prison.

Chapter IV.

SIEGE OF SLUYS—EXPEDITIONS OF DRAKE—PHILIP II PREPARING TO INVADE ENGLAND—KEEPES IT SECRET—ELIZABETH SERIOUSLY CONCERNED FOR ONCE—LEICESTER AT FIRST SIDES WITH THE QUEEN FOR PEACE, BUT AFTERWARD CHANGES HIS OPINIONS—STRANGE INFATUATION OF LEICESTER FOR SOVEREIGNTY—HE IS RECALLED—THE ARMADA SETS SAIL—STORM OFF CAPE FINISTERE—THE BATTLES IN THE CHANNEL—FIRE SHIPS—THE ARMADA IS CHASED INTO THE NORTH SEA—SCATTERED BY A TEMPEST, AND MORE THAN HALF OF THE VESSELS DESTROYED.

SLUVS is a seaport of Zealand, situated on a stream which divided before it reached the city, and inclosed it by its branches, and then, uniting, formed a harbor, and swept onward to the sea. The possession of this harbor, as a rendezvous for the vessels and scows which Parma was to collect for the invasion of England, seemed to him an object of the greatest importance. It was defended by a garrison of eight hundred men, under Arnold de Groenevelt, a Dutch no-

bleman, assisted by such distinguished officers as Nicholas de Maulde, Adolphus de Meetkerke, and Captain Herangiere. As soon as Parma's designs were developed, Sir William Russell, now governor of Flushing, re-enforced them with eight hundred English soldiers, whose officers were men of note; the chief of whom was Roger Williams, the Welshman.

Against the city Parma brought a force of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, which he set to work making trenches and constructing a bridge between the city and the sea, similar to that over the Scheldt at the siege of Antwerp. Many bold sorties were made by the besieged, and such was the bravery displayed that Parma confessed his admiration of them.

Constant calls for aid upon Leicester and the states were made by letters sent by Captain Hart and other officers, who swam across the stream at the hazard of their lives. Strange to relate, a deaf ear was turned to their entreaties, except that Maurice and Hohenlo made a foray into Brabant, and diverted a large body of the

besiegers from the city, and a feeble effort was made by Leicester to dispatch fire-ships against the bridge. At the last moment Leicester marched three thousand men to Blanckenburg, with a view to cut off the access of the Spaniards to the sea, and so compel them to raise the siege; but Parma frightened him from his position by advancing towards him in such force as led him to expect the approach of the whole Spanish army. He took to his boats, and returned to Flushing to superintend the movement of the fire ships which Maurice and Hohenlo were sending against the bridge. But here he was disgusted with the pilots, who, after one abortive explosion of a fire-ship, declared the enterprise was impracticable. The fleet under Maurice and Admiral Nassau withdrew from the river, and the besieged, seeing their fate was sealed, made overtures to capitulate on honorable terms, which were accepted by Parma. Had he not accepted their terms, they determined to set fire to the city and to perish with it.

During this reverse, Sir Francis Drake was

making his buccaneering expedition against the ships and ports of Spain. He sailed from Plymouth, with twenty-eight ships, for the harbor of Cadiz. The queen sent a vessel in pursuit of him, with orders to return; but it failed to reach him. If it had it probably would have made no difference; for he saw that the country was in danger from the supineness of the queen, and he knew what to do to cripple most effectually the power of Spain.

Arrived at Cadiz, he drove the dozen galleys defending the harbor under the protection of the forts, and then proceeded to destroy all the shipping at anchor, to the number of one hundred and fifty, after having despoiled them of their cargoes, consisting of arms and provisions of all kinds for their intended invasion of England.

From Cadiz he proceeded to Lisbon, and there he captured and burnt one hundred more vessels. He then went in search of vessels on the high seas, and overhauled a carack, the *San Felipe*, an East Indiaman, laden with a rich cargo.

When he returned to England he was met by

stern rebukes from the queen, who was making herself just then a fool by secretly corresponding with Parma in behalf of a peace, which Philip had informed his general he would never consent to, though he wished him to gain time by negotiations for it. It was the policy of Philip to conceal from all the world his designs on England. He succeeded even in blinding the mind of the pope, though his holiness had offered a million for the enterprise. But there was one statesman who was not deceived; it was Secretary Walsingham, and he did his best to open the eyes of the queen. Drake saw it clearly enough by the logic of facts, and he meant to frustrate it. Philip was impatient for the time to come, and in his infatuation he even urged Parma not to wait till the Armada was ready, but to cross over as soon as the land forces reached the Netherlands. But how was he, with nothing but transport boats, to get across the stormy channel, with one hundred and fifty Dutch cruisers hovering round, and swarms of English ships moving to and fro? He was astounded at the king's folly.

At first Leicester sympathized with the queen's views of peace; but he soon discovered that it was the wreck of all his influence over the Netherlanders to suggest any such thing, and that Philip and Parma were just as much determined to carry on the war to the bitter end. He had misrepresented the popular sentiment in his letters to the queen; but now he confessed his mistakes, and protested in the strongest terms against the queen's infatuation.

But now we have to relate a strange infatuation that took possession of Leicester. He wished to make himself absolute sovereign of the Netherlands, and he conceived that he should succeed if he could get Maurice and Barneveldt out of the way, and also get possession of Leyden and other principal cities. One night friends came to the house of Barneveldt, on the Hague, and awoke him with the news that armed men were on their way to seize him. He took speedy departure for Delft, and was followed by Maurice, to whom the same warning had been given. It is supposed that he intended to seize them and send them to

England. His attempts to capture Leyden and Amsterdam were foiled. His agents were arrested and lost their lives; but he denied having any complicity with them, and it could not be proved by documentary evidence, though they positively asserted it with their dying breath.

These transactions put an end to his relations with the republic. The queen recalled him, and sent a letter to the states, in which she blamed them for all his mishaps. The states were glad enough to be rid of their incompetent governor, and had not even the courtesy to send a committee to take leave of him as he set sail from Flushing. The medals by which he and the Hollanders commemorated the event were significant. His was a flock of sheep watched by an English mastiff, with mottoes on opposite sides, “*Non gregem sed ingratos,*” and “*Invitus deserо*”—the whole meaning, “Unwillingly I desert, not the flock, but the ungrateful ones.” On one of the Dutch medals “was represented an ape smothering her young ones to death in her embrace.”

The departure of Leicester left the states in a state of confusion. He had not formally resigned, and the command of the English troops devolved on Lord Willoughby. Maurice was declared stadtholder and captain-general, but several cities where the Liecesterian party prevailed refused allegiance to him. Diederich Savoy, governor of North Holland, openly rebelled. He held the city of Medenblik against Maurice, and declared that he would drown the whole country and levy black-mail upon its property if he was not paid one hundred thousand crowns. So Maurice affirmed in a letter to Elizabeth. At length the queen wrote to Savoy, and ordered him to desist, as the resignation of Leicester, from whom he had received commission, had been accepted. He was dismissed of all his offices, and returned to England.

With the permission of Maurice, though not representing his views in respect to religious toleration, deputies from the Netherland Churches came to England. Their object was to persuade Elizabeth to accept the sovereignty of the states

and to abandon all idea of their peace ever being made with Philip. They desired particularly that she would establish the reformed religion and exclude all other. At this moment her peace commissioners were at Ostend, beginning to see how hopeless it was to make a treaty of peace with Philip, though they had not yet discovered that he was about dispatching his Armada to convoy the troops of Parma to invade and subjugate her realm. Parma had over and over protested to them and to the queen, on his honor, that Philip had no hostile intention against England, while he was actually collecting vast bodies of troops and making minute provisions for the invasion. The states general had satisfactory evidence of this, and they had provided that their largest ships should cruise along the coasts of the two countries, and that a squadron of smaller vessels should hover about the shore and in the estuaries; also an embargo was laid on all square-rigged merchant ships of over three hundred tons to contribute to the armament. One hundred and forty vessels altogether were thus kept on the watch

for the Armada, and to cut off the gunboats of Parma as soon as they should put out to sea. The command of these coast guards was given Admiral Warmond, Admiral Justinus de Nassau, and Joost de Moor, vice-admiral of Zealand. A short time before, Admiral Rosendael, with twenty-five ships, had joined Lord Henry Seymour, at that time cruising between Dover and Calais; but, being driven back by a tempest, they united with the fleet outside of the banks. How preposterous the notion of Philip that Parma might make his way to England even before the Armada should arrive! These sea-dogs would have desired no better sport than to devour his whole armament.

But now, on the 28th of May, 1588, after so many months of delay and concealment, the dread Armada set sail from the port of Lisbon, under the command of the duke of Medina Sidonia. It consisted of 130 ships, including 4 galleys, 60 huge galleons, 4 galleases, still more huge and clumsy. The total tonnage was 59,120, and the number of guns 3,165. Besides 19,293

soldiers there were 8,252 sailors and 2,088 galley-slaves to row the galleys. Accompanying the fleet were, including their attendants, 2,000 volunteers, representing the aristocracy, and 300 monks and priests.

Three weeks were consumed in reaching the mouth of the English Channel, and there they were overtaken by a tempest, and received their first installment of that destruction which awaited them more by the force of nature than the arms of men.

The *Diana*, one of the first galleys, foundered, and all on board perished. Another, the *Princess*, was captured by the rising of the galley-slaves at the instigation of a Welsh slave, an experienced and able seaman, by the name of Groyna, to whom the captain, conscious of his inability to manage in the storm, gave up the direction of the vessel. The captain of the *Royal*, suspecting what was going on, bore down upon them; but the moment the ships came in contact the Welshman, followed by the liberated slaves, sprang on board and mastered the crew, and took possession of the

ship. The two galleys were taken to the coast of France, and the property divided among the captors, four hundred and sixty in number. The rest of the fleet put back into Coruna, and took a month to repair damages.

On the 29th of July ten thousand beacon-fires announced, all along the coast of England, the arrival of the Armada in the English Channel, and the English fleet went out to encounter them. Of this fleet of 67 vessels, Lord Howard, lord high admiral of England, was chief in command, having for his flag-ship the *Ark Royal*, of 800 tons, 55 guns, and 425 sailors. Vice-admiral Drake was next in command. His ship was the *Revenge*, of 500 tons, 250 men, and 40 guns. Captain Frobisher commanded the *Triumph*, of 1,100 tons, 42 guns, and 500 sailors. And Captain Hawkins the *Victory*, of 800 tons. Another squadron, commanded by Lord Henry Seymour, was cruising off the Flemish coast.

On the 30th of July the enemy was seen through the mists off the Cornish coast, and the next day the conflict commenced. The Armada

came on in the form of a crescent, and offered battle; but the light-sailing ships of the English got the weather-gauge, and came on behind the Armada, and assailed the ships of the enemy in the rear. The great object of the Armada was to pass on to Calais, where it was calculated that the gun-boats of Parma, laden with the land forces, would form a junction and proceed directly across to the coast of England. Steady to this plan Medina directed the movements of his fleet, willing to engage the English at every opportunity, but not breaking their order.

The first disaster which happened to the Spaniards was the blowing up of the flag-ship of Admiral Oquendo by the gunner, a Fleming, in a fit of anger at being reprimanded for careless firing. Two hundred of the men with the decks were blown up, but the rest of the crew was rescued by the other ships.

Another of the galleons, commanded by Don Pedro de Volder, carried away her foremast by collision with another ship, and lagged behind the rest of the fleet. As the night drew on the

fleet deserted Don Pedro, though he kept firing signals of distress, and in the morning he surrendered to Vice-admiral Drake, in the *Revenge*. Frobisher and Hawkins had cannonaded him at a distance, as night set in, and they were deeply chagrined to see their game fall into the hands of Drake.

On Monday, the first of August, nothing of interest occurred. On Tuesday the shifting of the wind reversed the order of things, and gave the Spaniards the weather-gauge. The English could no longer avoid battle, and a general engagement took place. In the midst of it vast loads of munitions kept coming from the coasts of Dorset, and volunteers in vessels chartered by some of them to join in the fight. Among them were the dukes of Cumberland and Northumberland, Lords Oxford and Willoughby, Sir Walter Raleigh, Brooke, Dudley, Noel, Hatton, and Cecil. The day passed without any marked damage to either side, and at night the Spaniards, the wind changing, made off toward Calais. The next day nothing took place but distant cannonading. On

Thursday, the 4th of August, another great fight took place. The *Triumph* attacked a couple of the large Spanish ships which were somewhat damaged by the fighting of the previous day, and was assailed by several ships at once which came to the rescue. This brought the *Ark Royal* and five other ships to the support of the *Triumph*. As soon as their object was gained the lord admiral signaled retreat, and disappointed the enemy of a protracted engagement. On the next day the Armada came to anchor in the offing of Calais.

Soon after the squadron of Lord Henry Seymour made its appearance, and the combined English fleet, consisting now of one hundred and fifty vessels, came to anchor almost within gunshot of the enemy.

The question now was, What should be done to get these great ships of the enemy away from their moorings? Sir William Winter was called on board of the flag-ship, to advise with the lord admiral what to do. Winter remembered the story of the fire-ships of Antwerp, and he suggested that a similar experiment should be made.

On Sunday, the 7th of August, a council of the leaders of the fleet was called; and it was decided to try the fire-ships. Both parties were anxiously waiting for Parma; but he came not. He knew full well that gun-boats filled with troops could be no match for the "beggars of the sea."

The English, not knowing what might happen, resolved on immediate action. Six vessels were speedily converted into fire-ships. In the darkness of midnight, made darker than usual by the clouds of a coming storm, the Spaniards were surprised by the sudden apparition of six vessels bursting into flames as they approached them. The alarm was given, and a panic seized upon the crews as they started from their slumbers. "The fire-ships of Antwerp! the fire-ships of Antwerp!" was the cry. The cables of the ships were cut; four or five of them, in attempting to escape, got afoul of each other; and two were struck by the fire-ships and set on fire.

When the morning dawned, the Spanish ships not disabled were seen making off towards the

Flemish coast. The *Capitana*, the flag-ship of the galleases under Don Hugo de Moncada, was seen in a disabled state, having lost her rudder by a collision in the panic of the night, and making her way into the harbor. The *Ark Royal* and the *Margaret Joan* pursued her; but the water was shallow, and they dispatched their boats armed with a hundred men to make the capture. Arriving under her lofty sides, they demanded her surrender. They were answered contemptuously, and a skirmish went on for a half-hour, when Don Hugo was struck by a bullet, and, as other boats appeared approaching them, a panic seized the Spanish crew, and most of them threw themselves into the water and strove to swim to the shore. The few remaining on deck held out a flag of truce, and surrendered the ship. The authorities of the town, however, under whose guns the ship lay aground, made claim to her, and the brave captors came off with what things of value they could lay their hands upon.

The English now started in pursuit of the Armada, and about ten o'clock A. M. overtook

them off Gravelines, sailing in their half-moon order. They had both wind and tide in their favor, and they commenced the attack, and brought on a general battle, which lasted six hours. The English displayed their usual tactics, avoiding a close grapple, and pouring their shot into the lofty sides and rigging of the enemy's ships. Most of the fire of the Spaniards passed over the English ships, while all their shot took effect. Not an English ship was destroyed, while three of the enemy were sunk, and more than a dozen were disabled. Not a hundred of the English were killed, to four or five thousand of the enemy. The pilots now assured Medina Sidonia that the winds and currents were drifting them on a lea shore, and he very reluctantly gave the signal to bear away into the open sea.

Nor would the Spaniards have got off in this way had not the penurious policy of Elizabeth left her fleet without sufficient powder and shot to continue the fight. Still they followed the flying Armada until the 9th of August, when, after a council of war, it was concluded that the squad-

rons of Seymour and Wilton should return to guard the mouth of the Thames, in view of the possible attempt of Parma to cross the channel. The principal part of the fleet, under Warren, Drake, and Frobisher kept up the chase for three days more. Medina now saw the dread North Sea before him, and he would have hung out a flag of truce had not the monks and priests on the flag-ship dreaded being prisoners to heretic England more than the sea or the storms, and expostulated with him. Drake wrote: "We have the army of Philip before us, and hope with the grace of God to wrestle a pull with him. There never was any thing that pleased me better than seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward. God grant you may have a good eye to the duke of Parma; for with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt not so to handle the matters of Sidonia as he shall wish himself at St. Mary's Port, among his orange trees."

On the 13th of August the wind shifted to the North-west, and it was decided to proceed to the North Foreland for a supply of ammunition and

food. The next day the wind shifted to the southwest, and blew a hurricane. The English had much difficulty and peril in making their way to Margate, and when they lost sight of the Armada it was sweeping out under a blackening tempest into the wide sea between Scotland and Denmark.

Storm after storm succeeded through the month of August. The galleon of Oquendo, a great galley, and thirty-eight other vessels were wrecked on the coasts of Ireland, and their crews butchered by the savage inhabitants, or taken captives and shipped to England. Fifty-three only, in a most damaged and worthless condition, out of the one hundred and thirty-five, reached the coast of Spain; and the soldiers and sailors perished in the same proportion. "Their invincible and dreadful navy," said Drake, "with all its great and terrible ostentation, did not in all their sailing about England so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat of ours, or even burn so much as one sheep-cote on this land. As to the prince of Parma," he continues, "I take him to be as a bear robbed of her whelps."

This great discomfiture of the Spaniards was the judgment of Almighty God, whose mighty ministers of storm and darkness transcended all the powers of man.

Had Parma landed his army of veterans in England, the doom of the nation was only to be prevented by the enthusiasm of undisciplined troops rushing from all parts of the country to the defense of the queen. She had seventy-five thousand men in three different positions, but she had no general capable of contending with Parma. Leicester was made her lieutenant, but, though brave and loyal, he had not shown the characteristics of a great commander. He died not long after the wreck of the Armada. The queen would have done better at the head of the army; but she would not have deserved success, for her want of foresight and her passions had left the nation in just such a defenseless condition as her enemies could have wished. "Nothing but miracles," said Sir Roger Williams "saved England from perdition."

After this the duke of Parma led his army to

besiege Bergen-op-Zoom. He was doomed to failure, but his disappointment was compensated by the base surrender to him of the important city of Gertruydenberg by the combined treachery of the English and Netherlanders.

Chapter V.

CAPTURE OF BREDA BY STRATEGY—THE DUKE OF PARMA CHAGRINED AT ITS LOSS—HE IS COMMANDED BY PHILIP TO GO TO THE AID OF THE LEAGUE FOR THE RELIEF OF PARIS—BESIEGED BY HENRY IV—HE SUCCEEDS BY A GRAND STRATAGEM AND RETURNS TO BRUSSELS—PRINCE MAURICE CAPTURES ZUTPHEN AND DEVENTER—DELFRYL—THE FORTS OPSLAG, YEMENTIL, AND LETTEHEST ARE TAKEN—HE SWEEPS ACROSS THE COUNTRY AND RELIEVES FORT KRODSENBURG—PARMA DEPARTS FOR SPAIN AND PREPARES TO GO TO THE RELIEF OF PARIS—MAURICE SURPRISES AND TAKES HULST—RETURNS AND CAPTURES NYMEGEN—GOES INTO WINTER QUARTERS.

THE capture of Breda by the Dutch, in the Winter of 1590, illustrates the spirit with which they continued the struggle after the destruction of the Armada. Adrian van der Borg, a boatman, who made a trade of supplying this town with turf, the common fuel of the country, came one day to Count Maurice and suggested a scheme for surprising and taking the place. It was that a band of soldiers should be

concealed under his cargo, and so get an entrance into the castle. Maurice consulted with Barneveldt, and they agreed that the scheme was feasible, and Captain Charles de Herangiere and sixty-eight of his selection were appointed for the hazardous service. At the time appointed the boatmen did not appear, but he sent his two nephews, whom he characterized as dare-devils. They were three days getting up the river, it being obstructed with masses of ice; but, at length, half frozen, they found themselves off the holigate of the inner court-haven; and under the turf they heard the officer of the guard welcome the supply of fuel, and saying that he would send hands to work the vessel into the dock. Inside crowds of purchasers thronged the boat and would have bought out and carried off all the fuel, and so laid bare the concealment of the conspirators. But the dare-devil skippers, as evening drew on, declared that they could trade no more that day, and so dismissed the customers, to come in the morning. At midnight Herangiere divided his men into two companies, one to attack the main

guard-house and the other the arsenal of the fortress. Both movements proved successful. The guard and the keepers of the arsenal were surprised and slain. And the other troops, taking a panic, fled from the castle into the town without taking the precaution to destroy the connecting bridge. In an hour or two Hohenlo, at the head of a detachment of troops, entered the castle by the way the turf-boat entered, and passed into the town. He was soon afterwards followed by Maurice with a strong force of veteran troops. The place was taken with but slight resistance. As the morning dawned the burgomaster came to the castle and surrendered the fortress and the town. Great was the chagrin of Parma that five veteran companies of foot and one of horse should surrender to "a mere scow and seventy frost-bitten Hollanders." He ordered three of the captains to be beheaded, and others were degraded from office.

Not long after this event the duke of Parma was more deeply afflicted by the command of his master, Philip II, to withdraw his forces from

Netherland to aid in subjecting France. His vast ambition now sought to make this great and ancient nation a stepping-stone to the final conquest of England, Netherland, and Protestant Germany.

On the death of the weak and unprincipled Henry III the legitimate successor to the crown of France was Henry, king of Navarre and prince of Bearn, called the Bearnese, and finally Henry IV, of France, and Henry the Great. He was the son of Anthony of Bourbon, duke of Vandammon, and of Jeanne, daughter of Henry, king of Navarre. He was born in 1553, at Pan, in Bearn, department of the lower Pyrenees. His mother, on the death of her husband, withdrew from the French court to avoid the intrigues of Catherine de Medici, and in her own principality of Bearn embraced the Huguenot faith. He was trained to arms and possessed a mind that knew no fear, and in a body agile, firm, and capable of the greatest hardships. In his sixteenth year he was made, by his mother, the general-in-chief of the Huguenot army, and commanded in the battle of Xamar and Montcontour, both of which

went against the Protestants; but afterward resulted in an advantageous peace. Henry devoted his time subsequently to a personal inspection of his hereditary dominions. He was betrothed to Margaret of Valois, youngest sister of Charles IX, and the week of the celebration of the nuptials was made the occasion of the bloody massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572, there being a large gathering of Protestant nobles and distinguished persons at Paris. His mother having deceased, he assumed the title of King of Navarre. Charles IX was succeeded by Henry III, who concluded a treaty of peace with the Huguenots. On this account a Catholic league was formed against him, at the head of which was Henry, the duke of Guise. Again the religious war was kindled, and a battle took place at Coutras, where Henry of Navarre defeated the army of the league. The league now turned against Henry III, and he united with Henry of Navarre, but was stabbed in his camp at St. Cloud by a fanatic named James Clement. While dying of his wounds he assembled his nobles, and desired that they should

acknowledge Henry of Navarre as his lawful successor. He was first of the Bourbons, and succeeded the last of the Valois. Philip II set up a claim to the throne through his daughter Isabella; then next her the daughter of Henry II, and who would be heir to the throne were it not for the Salic law which excluded females from the succession. But what was law or custom to Philip if in the path of his ambition?

The duke of Mayenne, brother of Henry, duke of Guise, and grandson of the sister of Henry II, who married Francis of Guise, was the third competitor for the crown.

Henry IV defeated the army of the League in the battles of Argues and of Ivry, and laid siege to Paris. It was to assist in raising this siege that Alexander, duke of Parva, was called off from Netherlands.

With a force consisting of twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, in which were four hundred nobles of Netherlands, Spain, and Italy, he appeared in the neighborhood of the besieging army. On his way he formed a junction with the

army under Mayenne, consisting of six thousand foot and two thousand horse. The two greatest captains of the age were now to contend for the prize of the greatest city of Europe. It was now in the last stages of famine, and could hold out but a few days longer.

The army of Henry, consisting of sixteen thousand foot and five thousand horse, was not sufficient for continuing the siege and battling with the combined armies of the enemy. Consequently he left the siege, and took position to hold the villages of Lagny and Corbeil, which were the keys to the rivers Seine and Marne, and controlled the trade and supplies of the city. He drew up his army in a wide valley at Challes, on the right bank of the Marne, within six leagues of Paris, and less than a league from Lagny. Two small hills separated the armies.

On the day of the expected battle Parma sent his cavalry over the hills, with orders to deploy in two great wings to the right and left, and then to fortify their position. "Now," thought Henry, "I have them." Parma, knowing he had fixed

his attention on a feint, said, "We have already fought one battle, and gained the victory." His plan was to leave the cavalry for a rear-guard, and march his whole force of infantry and artillery to Lagny. He seized a village opposite, connected by a stone bridge, and planted his cannon to command the town. With great celerity he cast pontoon bridges over the river three miles above, and sent over a strong force with orders to assault the place as soon as the batteries had effected a breach in the walls. Before Henry had discovered the stratagem the attack was made, and Lagny was taken. The result was that other bridges were captured, and the river opened for supplies to ascend to Paris.

But Henry was not the man to give up to disasters while hope remained. Though his army immediately dwindled, in consequence of the short time for which many of the nobles had come provided for the campaign, he nevertheless ventured to assault Paris.

On the night of September 9th an attempt was made to escalade the walls in the neighborhood

of the Foubourgs of St. Jacques and St. Germain. The people were generally asleep; but the Jesuits were watchful, and gave the alarm. The duke of Nemours rallied his troops and roused the citizens, and the attack was effectually resisted. Another assault later met the same fate, with one fatal accident to La Noue, who received a wound which, to the sorrow of all the friends of progress, finally contributed to his death, in connection with another wound soon after received in the head at the siege of Lamballe.

Parma, having captured Corbeil after four weeks of siege, visited Paris, where he was welcomed with unbounded enthusiasm as the savior of the city. In a few weeks he marched his army back to Netherlands, followed by the army of Henry, harassing him at all points, but avoiding a general engagement. Scarcely had he arrived at Brussels before tidings came that Lagny and Corbeil had both been retaken, and Paris was again in danger of being reduced by starvation.

To go back in point of time to the 23d of May, 1591, we find Prince Maurice planning to recap-

ture Zutphen. In the early dawn eleven of his soldiers, disguised as male and female peasants, selling eggs, butter, and cheese, were waiting for the opening of the gates of the great fort opposite the city, on the Yssel, to traffic with the guards. Presently the soldiers came out, and while they were engaged in the trade one of the men disguised as a woman drew a pistol and shot one of them. Immediately the rest of the conspirators followed his example, and, rushing into the gates, seized the guard. Immediately Prince Maurice, with a body of men, who had been placed in ambush, rushed in and overpowered the garrison.

The next thing was to assault the city. He was joined by his cousin, Count Lewis William of Friesland, with a body of troops. A bridge was thrown across the river, and batteries were planted to make a breach in the walls at different places. The town, seeing the defense hopeless, surrendered on favorable terms.

The occupation by the Spaniards had brought the city to a sad condition.

The next movement was for the recapture of Deventer, the capital of the once rich province of Overyssel, and strongly fortified. Bridges were thrown across the Yssel, above and below the town, and then batteries were planted to command the Kaye, an earthen rampart lying between two walls of masonry, and separated from the plain by a very wide moat or piece of water. Pontoons were thrown across the water; and as soon as the cannon had torn a breach in the Kaye the English troops were allowed the honor of leading the assault, to wipe out the disgrace of William Stanley, who had so basely surrendered the city. They rushed on over the pontoon bridge, but, finding it too short, they had to leap to land or fall into the moat. Some who fell were drowned; others swam forward to land, and in like manner were followed by the Dutchmen. They were met by the commander, Herman Van der Berg, cousin of Count Maurice, at the head of his garrison. His soldiers were more than half drunk; but they fought desperately, and repulsed the invaders. Count Herman was wounded

in the eye, and borne away from the battle. In the night a vigorous attack was made by the besieged on the bridge, but it was repelled by Count William Lewis.

All through the assault a constant firing from the batteries was scattering ruin to the houses of the town, and making wide breaches in the walls. The people at last arose, and demanded the capitulation of the place. It was granted under the most favorable conditions. Van der Berg was conducted to the head-quarters of Prince Maurice and kindly greeted. His wound was not deep, and he finally recovered the sight of one eye.

The city was made desolate by the rapacity of the Spaniards; but as soon as restored to the states it began to resume its ancient prosperity.

After this Maurice went on in a conquering way. Delfryl, the forts of Opslag, of Yementel, and Lettebaest successively fell into his hands.

Learning that Parma had marched to Batavia to capture Fort Knodsenburg, he rapidly crossed the country, and, to the surprise of the Spaniards, appeared in their neighborhood, and strongly in-

trenched his army of six thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse. The assault on the fort had already been made, and repulsed with great slaughter of the assailants.

Five days after, July 24, 1591, he set an ambush, and tempted the Spaniards into it by sending out a portion of his cavalry, who were attacked by a large force, ten companies, of Italian and Spanish troopers, and fled before them. Drawn into the snare, it closed upon them, and the whole force was routed; sixty were killed, and one hundred and fifty were made prisoners.

Parma, finding he had committed an error by crossing the Waal without any bridge to communicate with his supplies, not suspecting any danger from the Dutch army, now set to work planting batteries on the banks of the river to cover his retreat. The next day his whole force broke up the siege and crossed the Waal in boats. After passing a short time at Nymegen, he repaired to Spa, for the benefit of his failing health, before he obeyed the command of Philip to go to the relief of Paris.

Nymegen was expecting now to be attacked by the victorious Maurice; but, to every body's surprise, he disappeared from the region as suddenly as he came, and turned up at the gates of Hubst, in Zealand. The city was surrendered in a few days, without resistance, by Castello, its commander, who saw no prospect of relief.

Leaving a garrison in Hubst, in a few days Maurice was back again to Nymegen, and making the most formidable preparations to besiege the city. He intrenched his camp, planted sixty-eight pieces of cannon to command the city in three places, and directed the fort of Knodsenburg to be ready to throw hot shot into the city. Having sent a trumpet to demand the surrender, and received a "saucy answer" in return, he opened fire in all directions from his batteries behind the trenches and from the fort across the river Waal. The next day the city surrendered on the same favorable terms as were allowed in like cases. The exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was a question reserved for the judgment of the states general. The city was restored to the Dutch

republic, and placed under the government of Count Lewis William.

The Netherlands, and the world also, had discovered that another great general had appeared upon the theater of war. He closes the campaign, and goes into Winter quarters.

Chapter VI.

PARMA ORDERED TO GO AGAIN TO FRANCE—SIEGE OF ROUEN IS RAISED, AND PARIS AGAIN RELIEVED—PARMA IS WOUNDED, AND RETIRES TO SPA—DIES AT ARRAS, AND IS BURIED AT PARMA—CONVERSION OF HENRY IV TO THE ROMAN CHURCH—MAURICE BESIEGES AND CAPTURES STEENWYCK—THE MILITARY SYSTEM OF MAURICE—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CAENORDEN.

PRIOR to the year 1592 Henry received the aid of several war ships of the Hollanders in cutting off supplies from Paris. He had possession of the bridges on the Seine below and above the city, and invested it with an army of twenty-five thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry, including three thousand Netherlanders. Parma, reluctantly obeying his master, near the close of January joined the duke of Mayenne with a force of 13,516 infantry and 4,061 cavalry, and the combined armies moved slowly towards the besieged capital. Henry went out to meet

them at the head of his cavalry. At the first sight of them the king, forgetting that he was head of a great army, put himself at the head of five hundred horsemen, and went out to reconnoiter the camp of the enemy. Driving in the scouts, he found himself encountered by a stronger force of cavalry than his own party, and retreating at once, he was vigorously pressed. Soon it was discovered that the king was in the company, and the pursuit became a wild chase. Henry ordered one of his captains to fall into the hands of the enemy, and to assure them that he was supported by a large force of infantry in ambush. Davardin and Givroy came to his rescue; but a panic seized the troops when they heard that Henry was mortally wounded. He was indeed hit by an arquebuse ball in his side, but was not seriously hurt. Lavardin and Givroy were both dangerously wounded, and the case became desperate, when four hundred dragoons dismounted, and stood as a wall to protect their king until he was received near the gates of Nemours by the main body of his troops. Most of the brave men

perished in their heroic effort to save the king. Had not Parma suspected an ambush when he was first informed that Henry was flying, he would have ordered out all his cavalry, and probably have captured or killed the king, and ended the war.

After this the combined armies moved on, and we need only relate that they succeeded in relieving Rouen, and breaking up the blockade of Paris. Parma, who was wounded in the arm in one of the battles, withdrew his forces to the Netherlands, and retired to Spa. While striving to recover his health, and to prepare to go the third time to the war in France, his enemies misrepresented him to Philip, who, as the easiest way to seize his person, invited him to come to Spain to aid him with his council. But death saved him this mortification. He died in the city of Arras, on the 3d of December, 1592, aged forty-seven. His body was conveyed to Parma, and interred under the Franciscan Church. His statue was erected in the city of Rome.

Thus passed away Alexander Farnese, duke

of Parma, the greatest general of the times. It was fitting that, in the judgment of God, he should be in the sequel of life the victim, as he had been the tool, of the cruel and bigoted ambition of Philip.

As we have taken leave of the great Farnese, we close the chapter by quoting the eloquent passage in Motley's Netherlands, describing the conversion of Henry IV to Romanism, by which the great civil war of France was ended; and so take leave of him also, to pursue the narrower line of personal biography. He had expressed a willingness to be instructed in the Roman Catholic faith, and signified that if he could be convinced of its truth he should be ready to join the Roman Church. The competitors for the crown scoffed at the idea of his conversion, and denounced the hypocrisy of such a thing; but the politicians believed it was the best thing for him and the country, and they were not troubled with scruples respecting his sincerity.

"And now the great day had come. The conversion of Henry to the Romish faith, fixed

long before for the 23d of July, 1593, formally took place at the time appointed. From six in the morning till the stroke at noon did Henry listen to the exhortations and expoundings of the learned prelates and doctors whom he had convoked, the politic archbishop of Bourges taking the lead in this long-expected instruction. After six mortal hours had come to an end, the king rose from his knees, somewhat wearied, but entirely instructed and convinced. He thanked the bishops for having taught him that of which he was before quite ignorant, and assured them that after having invoked the light of the Holy Ghost upon his musings he should think seriously over what they had just taught him, in order to come to a resolution salutary to himself and to the state.

"Nothing could be more candid. Next day, at eight in the morning, there was a great show in the Cathedral of St. Denis, and the population of Paris, notwithstanding the prohibition of the league authorities, rushed thither in immense crowds, to witness the ceremony of the reconciliation of the king. Henry went to the church, clothed, as

became a freshly purified heretic, in white satin doublet and hose, white silk stockings, and white silk shoes with white roses in them; but with a black hat and a black mantle. There was a great procession, with blare of trumpet and beat of drum. The streets were strewn with flowers.

"As Henry entered the great portal of the church, he found the archbishop of Bourges, seated in state, effulgent in miter and chasuble, and surrounded by other magnificent prelates in gorgeous attire.

"'Who are you, and what do you want?' said the archbishop.

"'I am the king,' meekly replied Henry; 'and I demand to be received into the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church.'

"'Do you wish it sincerely?' asked the prelate.

"'I wish it with all my heart,' said the king.

"Then, throwing himself on his knees, the Bearn—great champion of the Huguenots—protested before God that he would live and die in the Catholic faith, and that he renounced all heresy. A passage was with difficulty opened

through the crowd, and he was led to the high altar, amid the acclamations of the people. Here he knelt devoutly, and repeated his protestations. His unction and contrition were most impressive, and the people, of course, wept piteously. The king, during the ceremony, with hands clasped together, and adoring the Eucharist with his eyes, or, as the Host was elevated, smiting himself thrice upon the breast, was a model of passionate devotion.

"Afterwards he retired to a pavilion behind the altar, where the archbishop confessed and absolved him. Then the Te Deum sounded, and high mass was celebrated by the bishop of Nantes. Then, amid acclamations and blessings, and with largess to the crowd, the king returned to the monastery of St. Denis, where he dined amid a multitude of spectators, who thronged so thickly around him that his dinner-table was nearly upset. These were the very Parisians who, but three years before, had been feeding on rats and dogs and dead men's bones, and the bodies of their own children, rather than open their gates to this

same prince of Bearn. Now, although Mayenne had set strong guards at those gates, and had most strictly prohibited all egress, the city was emptied of its populace, which pressed in transports of adoration around the man so lately the object of their hate. Yet few could seriously believe that much change had been effected in the inner soul of him whom the legate and the Spaniard and the holy father at Rome still continued to denounce as the vilest of heretics and the most infamous of impostors.

“The comedy was admirably played out, and was entirely successful. It may be supposed that the chief actor was, however, somewhat wearied. In private he mocked at all this ecclesiastical mummery, and described himself as heartily sick of the business. ‘I arrived here last evening,’ he wrote to the beautiful Gabrielle, ‘and was importuned with “God save you!” till bed-time. In regard to the leaguers, I am of the order of St. Thomas. I am beginning to-morrow the talk to the bishop, besides those I told you about yesterday. At this moment of writing I have a hundred

of the importunates on my shoulders, who will make me hate Saint Denis as much as you hated Mantes! 'T is to-morrow that I take the perilous leap. I kiss a million times the beautiful hands of my angel and the mouth of my mistress.'"

While Parma was engaged with his forces in France, Maurice resumed his purpose of laying siege to Steemwyck, and on the 28th of May, 1592, he appeared before that city with a force of six thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. He had made the spade one of the chief weapons of war, and set to work throwing up ramparts for planting his artillery. These being completed, in ten days he opened fire with forty-five guns, and threw hot shot into the heart of the city. After enduring his cannonading for a week, a flag of truce was sent to him by the besieged; but their terms of capitulation were not acceptable. He next tried digging mines in four places to the walls, and two large chambers were each filled with over five thousand pounds of powder. The regular garrison consisted of sixteen companies under Antoine de Quocqueville, assisted by

twelve hundred Walloon soldiers, commanded by young Lewis Count Van der Borg. Twice successful sorties were made with little loss, and in one of them Sir Francis Vere, leader of the English contingent force, was wounded and disabled. Three hundred men were sent by Verdugo to re-enforce the place, but only seventy of them were able to enter the city, and the rest were slain or taken prisoners.

On the 3d of July the mines were sprung. Unluckily the mine under the western bastion burst outwardly and killed many of the besiegers, and for a moment Maurice hesitated to order the assault. The bastion of the east gate was demolished, and Lewis William immediately entered the breach. As Maurice was surveying the disaster at the other side he was shot in the left cheek; but he pulled out the ball with his own hands and led the assault. The besieged, seeing that resistance was useless, held out a flag of truce, and the city was surrendered. The terms were favorable. The officers and soldiers of the garrison were allowed to depart with their baggage

and with a promise not to serve the king of Spain in Netherlands for six months. Count Lewis Van der Borg, cousin to Maurice and Lewis William, had fallen with three hundred and fifty of the rank and file. Large numbers were wounded, and the riddled houses and public buildings of the city showed the severity of the cannonading.

The military science and genius of Maurice were no longer a question among his friends or enemies. He had long studied the system of the celebrated Stevinus and reviewed the ancient methods of war. He re-organized the military system of the commonwealth. The Unit was the company consisting of one hundred and thirteen men, armed with muskets, arquebuses, pikes, or halberds. He preferred fire-arms to the pike, and enlarged the proportion of the musketeers to the pikemen. At that day the long musket was accompanied with an iron gaffle or fork, which was stuck in the ground for a rest. Match-locks were used for all fire-arms. Three men carrying bucklers were in each company for the protection of the captain. In the cavalry the carbine was

substituted largely for the lance. The artillery had three kinds of cannon—the whole cannon, of forty-eight pounds; the half cannon, of twenty-four pounds; and the field-piece of twelve pounds. The whole gun weighed seven thousand pounds and required thirty-one horses to draw it; it could fire eighty shots in an hour, and took twenty pounds of powder for a charge. Mortars threw grenades, hot shot, and stones not farther than six hundred yards.

The use of the spade was introduced with difficulty; but its efficiency was soon apparent.

The regular payment of the army was secured by a system which excluded the peculations of the officers, as practiced to an enormous extent in the armies of other nations.

Such is a glimpse of the system which contributed to make the son of William the Silent the greatest general of the age, after the death of Parma.

The month had not passed away before the army was set down before Coevorden, another of the strongholds of North Netherlands, the key

to all its three provinces, and without which the Spaniards could not hope to retain the capital, Groningen. It lay on a road of hard sand, built by nature as the only highway over a vast morass. The garrison consisted of one thousand men, under another cousin of Maurice, Count Frederick Van der Borg. Before finishing all his preparations for the siege, Maurice diverted a portion of his force to capture Ootmarsum, a frontier town which might be used by the enemy as a harbor for a relieving force. Having accomplished his purpose he returned, and on the 16th of August sent his trumpeter to demand the surrender of the place. Count Van der Borg appeared on the walls, and demanded his message. He replied, "To claim this city, in the name of Prince Maurice of Nassau and of the states general." "Tell him first," said Van der Borg, "to beat down my walls as flat as a ditch, and then to bring five or six storms. Six months after that I will think whether I will send a trumpet."

Before the assault commenced Maurice was vexed by the withdrawal of Sir Francis Vere and

his command of about three thousand men, under express orders from Queen Elizabeth to go to the aid of Henry IV, in France. He was, however, compensated by three thousand Netherland troops from garrisons, who had been relieved by the return of Count Philip of Nassau's regiment from France.

Information came that Verdugo was approaching with a relieving force of four thousand foot and eighteen hundred horse, and he was advised to go out to meet him; but he preferred to go on with his intrenchments, and to await their attack behind his fortifications. Intercepted letters from Verdugo gave warning that he designed a night surprise on the 6th-7th of September. True to his purpose, Verdugo, with his whole force, wearing their white shirts outside of their armor, that they might be distinguished in the confusion and darkness of the battle, made a furious onset upon that portion of the intrenched army commanded by Hohenlo. The fight went on all night. The morning revealed the complete defeat of Verdugo, who retreated, leaving three hundred

of his troops dead upon the scene, and with so many wounded that he could not renew the attack. Maurice was urged to pursue the enemy with his cavalry; but, steady to his purpose of capturing Coevorden, he refused. No further fighting was necessary. The trumpet, after five days, was sent out to propose the capitulation of the place. In the night battle Maurice and his cousin, Lewis William, were in the thickest of the fight, and the latter received a musket ball in his abdomen. It struck his right side, and came out at the navel, without lacerating the intestines, and he was able to mount his horse and receive his victorious cousin as he rode out of the place at the head of his garrison.

After this Maurice took his troops to Winter quarters, and ended the campaign of 1592.

Chapter VII.

FAMOUS SIEGE OF GERTRUYDENBERG—ATTEMPT OF VERDUGO TO RECAPTURE COEVARDEN—SIEGE OF GRONINGEN—ARCHDUKE ERNEST, THE SUCCESSOR OF PARMA, ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE MAURICE—INVESTMENT OF GROL—MENDRAGON MARCHES TO RELIEVE IT—MAURICE TAKES POSITION AT BISLICH—AMBUSH AND COUNTER AMBUSH OF THE HOSTILE ARMIES—ARCHDUKE CARDINAL ALBERT, BROTHER OF THE DECEASED GOVERNOR-GENERAL, SUCCEEDS HIM—PHILIP WILLIAM, ELDEST SON OF WILLIAM THE SILENT, ACCOMPANIES HIM TO BRUSSELS.

ON the 24th of March Maurice commenced the famous siege of Gertruydenberg. This city was one of the two important places which had not yet acknowledged the United Dutch Republic. It was situated at the junction of the Dongen with the Meuse, where the latter spreads out into a wide gulf or estuary, and was surrounded and almost hidden by lofty and fortified dikes.

Maurice intrenched his army of over twenty thousand infantry and artillery in two divisions,

one on each side of the Donger, over which communications were made by two bridges. The vast lines extended round the city, with numerous forts, breastworks, and trenches. The approaches to them were made difficult to cavalry by palisades of "caltrops and man-traps," and by inundating, by the use of wind-mills, of the shallow places, making of them marshes and lakes. Inside of the works the roads were made practicable by planks and brush-wood in all directions. The spade and pickaxe became the great weapons, and the soldiers, having ten stivers extra per day for such work, wrought with a will. Three hundred guns were put in position to command the city, and on the water side a blockade was made by ships of war.

No such work was ever seen before. Foreign generals and visitors from all parts came to view it. The neighbors thronged it, bringing all kinds of provisions to market. And the fields within the works were plowed and sowed and prepared. It was war, with all the insignia of peace.

The octogenarian, Peter Ernest Mansfield, nom-

inal governor now of Spanish Netherlands, after months of delay, with fifteen thousand troops, of which three thousand were cavalry, approached the military city of Maurice holding in its iron embrace the doomed Gertruydenberg. He was astounded at what he saw. He made several furious attacks, and tried every way to lure the besiegers into the open fields.

"Why does your master," said he to a trumpeter, "why does Prince Maurice, being a lusty young commander, as he is, not come out of his trenches and fight me like a man?"

"Because my master," said the trumpeter, "means to be a lusty old commander, like your excellency, and sees no reason to give you an advantage."

For ninety days the firing on the city from the ships and from the land batteries went on, while the undermining was every hour approaching the walls to blow them up. The garrison consisted of one thousand regular soldiers, besides the local militia. Every day their ranks were thinning, and the houses were tumbling down over their

heads. A cannon-ball struck the tower of the great church, and killed the governor of the city, De Musieres, and four others who were taking observations.

On the 24th of June Captains Haen and Bievns, who were on duty in the trenches, now brought near the ravelin, took into their heads to scale the walls and take a look at the city. Bievns, throwing a plank across the ditch, first climbed the wall, followed by a few daring fellows. After them came Captains Haen and Kalf, with fifty more soldiers. A conflict with the surprised guards took place, but they were soon put to flight, spreading the news that the besiegers were upon them. Count Solm now came from the trenches to see what was going on, when, to his astonishment, a flag of truce came from the city with offers of capitulation !

Maurice thought at first that the surrender was a trick ; but the presence of the deputies soon convinced him that the amazing preparations he had made to take the city and to repel the relieving army had satisfied the burghers that the defense

was hopeless. The roar of artillery and the blaze of bonfires in the city soon gave notice to Mansfield that the city was taken. He broke up his camp, and departed to Brussels to receive the taunts of Fuentes for his ill luck.

Verdugo, the Spanish commander, who had succeeded in seizing a few cities in Friesland, made an attempt to recapture Coevorden, which failed in the Fall, but was renewed in the Spring, with a force of eight thousand veterans. But Maurice marched at once to the rescue with twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, and established and intrenched his camp on the road through the Bourtange morass, at such a point as cut off his communications. Verdugo, seeing in what a predicament he was in, called a council of war, who advised immediate retreat. In the darkness of the night, accordingly, he noiselessly broke up his camp and withdrew from his fortifications.

The way was now clear, and the time had come to make the long-meditated attack upon Groningen, one of the richest and most beautiful

cities of Friesland, next in importance to Antwerp and Amsterdam. Thirteen years before this city was surrendered to the Spaniards by the treachery of James Renneberg, and its recovery was a cherished object with the republic. There was no proper garrison in the city, but in the neighborhood was a regiment under the command of George Lanckena. The citizens prided themselves on their loyalty to Philip, and felt confident that they could defend the city, fortified as it was—ditches, ravelins, curtains, and towers equal to the best defenses of European cities.

In the same prodigious manner in which we have seen Gertruydenberg begirt with intrenchments and approached by underground galleries and mines, Maurice exerted all his science and skill to master the city and to repel relieving forces. One day, while making a reconnoisance, a shot from the ramparts struck the buckler under which he and Sir Francis Vere were standing, and smote them to the ground; but they both escaped serious injury.

A few days after this event the signal was

given, and the mines were exploded. The north ravelin was blown into the air with its garrison, and such a breach made in the fortifications that the city was no longer defensible. An internal feud had prepared the way for this prompt action; for the Spanish party, headed by the Jesuits, had succumbed to the majority, who were for surrender. Thirty-six cannon and eight hundred tons of powder were taken with the city.

The same lenient terms were granted as to other cities; and thus this important place was rescued from the dominion of the tyrant, and made a part of the free republic. William Lewis, stadtholder of Friesland, became its chief magistrate. "Thus," says Motley, "the commonwealth of the United Netherlands, through the practiced military genius and perseverance of Maurice and Lewis William, and the substantial statesmanship of Barneveldt and his colleagues, had at last rounded itself into definite shape; while in all directions the world-empire, imposing and gorgeous as it seemed for an interval, was vanishing before its victories like a mirage."

The successor of Alexander Farnese of Parma was the imbecile Archduke Ernest, brother of the Emperor Rudolph. He was so afflicted and enfeebled with gout that he had to be lifted in and out of his carriage, and he was not more robust in mind than in body; but he was an archduke, and a brother of an emperor! The beginning of his short administration was signalized by the usual extravagant ceremonies of welcome, and darkened by the mutiny of the ill-paid and starving Spanish troops. They ransacked and ravaged the afflicted country on every side; and they were so mad against the king that they offered to Prince Maurice to pledge themselves not to serve in the royal army again, provided he would protect them. They were permitted to take shelter under the fortresses of Gertruydenberg and Breda, until they could make terms with the archduke. This was accomplished to their satisfaction after a short time.

The count of Fuentes, the minister of the archduke for foreign affairs, made himself infamous by an attempt to procure the assassination

of Queen Elizabeth; but his miserable tools were detected and executed. The same year an attempt was made to assassinate Prince Maurice. Renichan, a priest, and schoolmaster of Namur, was invited to Brussels; and there he was informed by Count Berlaymont that it was the pleasure of the archduke and of King Philip that Maurice should be got out of the way. He was offered one hundred dollars in hand, and fifteen thousand if he should succeed. The plan was to shoot Maurice, and to seize the person of his youngest brother, Frederick Henry, at school in Leyden. Barneveldt and St. Aldegonde, and several other leading statesmen, were also to be killed. Six other assassins were associated with him, and the work was to be a masterpiece of murder.

Renichan went to Antwerp disguised as a soldier, under the name of Michael de Tirene, and having obtained letters from Berlaymont he went on his way to Breda. He had not been there long, however, before he excited suspicion, and was arrested. He endeavored to hang himself; but, not succeeding, he yielded to the convictions

of his conscience, and confessed the whole plot. He was executed without being subjected to torture.

Another scheme was foiled in like manner. Pierre du Four, who had served as a soldier in the army of the republic, was engaged by General La Motte and Counsellor Assouboitte to shoot Maurice. He was taken to mass in the royal chapel, where such ceremonies, he was told, would render him invisible in his approaches to his victim, and money was put into his hands to facilitate his work and to reward him. He was specially charged not to make confession if he was detected. But he was soon arrested, and made confession, implicating the archduke, as well as the officers mentioned, in the nefarious transaction.

After one year of inefficient government, the archduke succumbed to his complicated disorders and died, having made Fuentes his successor until the pleasure of the king should be known.

On the 14th of July, 1595, Prince Maurice opened the campaign in the Netherlands by marching an army to the capture of the city of

Grol, a town on the eastern border of the republic. He laid siege to it in his usual scientific manner, and, at the end of the week, demanded the surrender of the place. But the governor had heard the veteran Mondragon was coming to his relief, and he returned a bold negative to the challenge. The old war-horse at Antwerp scented the battle from afar, and hastily collected upwards of seven thousand troops of all arms, and marched for the rescue. His officers thought he was foolhardy to cross the Rhine, and venture on such an expedition, at his advanced age, now ninety-two years old. But he set a chair on the banks of the river, and declared that he would not leave it until the last soldier had crossed over. As soon as Maurice found him approaching, knowing that his own force was inferior in numbers, and not advantageously posted to make battle, he broke up the siege and marched to Borkelo.

Here he employed his army, in concert with detachments of militia from the town, in clearing the neighborhood of the brigands that swarmed through the heaths and wilds and were the terror

of the villages. The militia drove them out of their hiding-places; and Hohenlo set upon them with his cavalry and blood-hounds, and they were exterminated.

After this Maurice intrenched his camp at Bislich, at the junction of the Lippe with the Rhine. Presently the army of Mondragon advances to the opposite side of the river Lippe. Maurice directed his cousin, Philip of Nassau, to cross the river on a pontoon bridge, with a force of seven hundred cavalry, and draw the enemy by a feigned retreat across the river, where an ambush would be set for them by Maurice with five thousand men hid behind the hills. But Mondragon had perfect knowledge by the means of spies and scouts of the whole scheme, and he set a counter-ambush, by hiding a body of cavalry supported by infantry in the neighborhood of the Lippe. As the advance of Philip's troopers appeared the Spanish scouts fled, as they were instructed to do. The troopers pursued them until they came in sight of a large force of cavalry, when they wheeled and fell back. Philip ordered

an advance of his whole force. They had to pass through a narrow lane, and had only fairly got through it, when they were met by an overwhelming force of the enemy. Count Philip, at the beginning of the conflict, was shot by an arquebuse, and his clothes set on fire, which he could only smother by rolling upon the sand. He was taken prisoner, and carried to Rheinberg, where he died of his wounds. Count Ernest Solms was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. Ernest and Lewis Nassau were in the fight, and the former was captured. About one hundred fell in the battle, and the rest escaped across the river, to report that they were outwitted by the crafty and brave old general.

After this skirmish, no engagement took place between the armies. Mondragon, as Winter approached, having succeeded in preventing the capture of Grol, retired across the Rhine, and put his troops again into garrison. Maurice sent Count William Lewis to attack his rear as he crossed the Rhine, but he did nothing but capture a few wagons.

This was the last achievement of Mondragon. On the 3d of January, 1596, he died suddenly, beloved by his soldiers and respected by his enemies. His great abilities were acknowledged by those who condemned the cause to which they were devoted.

Near the end of January, 1596, the Archduke Cardinal Albert, youngest brother of the deceased governor, succeeded him. In his train came Philip William, the elder son of William the Silent, released from a duress of twenty-eight years, which had metamorphosed him into a Spaniard in looks and character.

Chapter VIII.

EARLY IN THE YEAR 1596 THE CARDINAL ARCHDUKE TAKES THE FIELD AGAINST HENRY IV—CALAIS IS TAKEN BY DE ROSNE—EXPEDITION OF DUTCH AND ENGLISH TO CAPTURE CADIZ—IT WAS SUCCESSFUL—PHILIP FITS OUT ANOTHER ARMADA—IT IS WRECKED AT SEA—GREAT VICTORY OVER THE SPANIARDS AT TURNHAUT—MARTYRDOM OF THE MAID-SERVANT, ANNE VON DER HOVE, OF TOURS, AND FIVE THOUSAND TROOPS SURRENDERED TO MAURICE, 1507—EMBASSY OF BARVENDO AND OTHERS TO HENRY IV AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.

WHILE Henry IV was besieging the town of La Fore, the cardinal-archduke entered France with fifteen thousand infantry and three thousand horse, to go to its relief; but he shortly changed his purpose, and sent a portion of his force under De Rosne to attack Calais. The old fortress of Rysbank protected the city, and it was seized by a sudden and well-planned maneuver, which made it necessary to surrender the city unless it could be relieved by Henry. The governor,

when called to surrender the city, agreed to do so if succor did not arrive in six days.

The king was deeply chagrined by this disaster. He had sent couriers to Maurice to request his co-operation for the protection of this important place. The response was prompt. On the 17th of April Maurice arrived off the harbor with fifteen companies of veterans and abundant provisions and munitions of war; but, to his disgust, he found the fortress which commanded the entrance into the harbor in possession of the Spaniards. It had surrendered on the very day of his arrival.

Elizabeth, in obedience to the treaty by which the three nations were bound in an offensive and defensive alliance, also responded to Henry's appeal by preparing to send to his aid an army of six thousand men. Meanwhile two or three hundred men were sent from Boulogne to re-enforce the garrison. They succeeded, by crossing the flats at midnight, while the tide was low, in making their entrance into the citadel, whereupon the governor foolishly proclaimed that succor had

arrived, and commenced hostilities by firing a shot which killed a Spanish sentry. During the cannonade which followed, Philip William of Orange came near being killed—a cannon ball took off the heads of two Spanish soldiers at his side. When a sufficient breach was made in the walls of the citadel, De Rosne ordered the assault. Two Dutch companies met them in the breach, and after a desperate fight, in which their two captains were killed, repelled the invaders. Another attack by fresh troops was ordered, and this time the citadel was taken. The garrison was slain, together with many citizens who had taken refuge in the citadel. Once more Calais was annexed to the Spanish crown as a part of its Flemish provinces.

Before the end of the month the states fitted out a fleet to aid the English in the invasion of Spain, which had long been under contemplation. Admiral Warmond had command of the fleet of twenty-four ships of war, which carried three thousand Dutch sailors and two thousand English troops from the garrisons of the Netherlands,

under the command of Sir Francis Vere. At Plymouth they joined the English squadron, which consisted of thirty-three ships of war and fifty-five transports, and carrying, besides the mariners, four thousand infantry. The earl of Essex was made chief commander of the expedition. Lord Admiral Howard was second in command. The brave and accomplished Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Thomas Howard were ranked next in order. Count Lewis Gunther of Nassau, Sir John Wingfield, Nicholas Meetkerk, Peter Regesmaster, Don Christopher of Portugal, and many others, went as volunteers.

On the 20th of June the joint fleet arrived off Cadiz. Essex at first thought to land his troops and attack the fort. Sir Walter Raleigh advised that the Spanish ships should be first attacked, and his opinion was adopted by a council of war. Raleigh was ordered to commence the battle. Besides four great galleons, there were in the harbor upwards of twenty ships of war, and fifty-seven strongly armed Indiamen, with rich cargoes worth twelve millions of ducats. As morning

dawned, Sir Walter started in his flag-ship, the *War Spright*, followed by the rest of the squadron. He passed the smaller vessels, and made at once for the *St. Philip* and the *St. Andrew*, the largest ships in the Spanish navy. Three hours he fought with both alternately, and he was impatient to board them; but the order had been given not to board without the fly-boats, which had not arrived. Seeing Essex approaching in his flag-ship, he rowed to him in a skiff, and obtained a reversal of the order. He then ordered his ship to be put alongside of the *St. Philip*. But she drew back as he approached, and ran aground. A train was laid to her magazines, and as soon as it was fired the sailors leaped into the sea and swam for the shore. In a little while the explosion came, and she was blown into the air. He then attacked the *St. Andrew* and the *St. Matthew*, and obliged them to strike their flags. The same success attended the other commanders, until thirteen war ships and seventeen galleys were taken. While these ships of war were being captured the India-men made their escape into the open sea. One

of the Dutch ships accidentally took fire and blew up, just as the battle was commencing.

The land forces were put on shore, and, under the command of Essex and Lewis Gunther of Nassau, drove the Spanish into the bastion which defended the city. An assault was ordered, and young Nassau, heading the troops, stormed the bulwark, and in a short time the flag of the Dutch republic was planted upon the walls. The city was taken without further fighting. Essex, exulting over his victory, drew up his army in the great square, and knighted fifty Englishmen and Dutchmen for their gallantry, among whom were Count Lewis, Admiral Warmund, and Peter Regesmontes. The citadel was not yet taken; but the next morning, strange to say, it surrendered without resistance, though there were in it six thousand men. The ships not yet taken were blown up by the order of the duke of Medina Sidonia.

The queen had foolishly given orders not to hold the city, if taken, and therefore, contrary to the better judgment of the Dutch and English commanders, it was given up to be sacked and

burnt. But it is pleasing to remark that no unarmed citizen was killed after the surrender, and no woman was outraged. The gold and silver had been carried off by the inhabitants; but five hundred thousand ducats' worth of property was taken, and the same amount was levied upon the city, for which forty distinguished citizens were taken as hostages.

Before the year closed Philip had prepared to avenge the destruction of Cadiz by equipping another armada of one hundred and twenty-eight ships, and providing fourteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, to invade Ireland. On the 5th of October the fleet, under Count Santa Gadia, set sail from Lisbon; but scarcely had they got into the open sea before a terrible storm overtook them, and forty ships, with all on board, went to the bottom of the sea. This put an end to the expedition. Two years after this Essex got up a second expedition against Spain, assisted by the Dutch; but, like that of Gadia, it was baffled by a storm, and gave up the scheme.

The cardinal-archduke had concentrated four

thousand foot and a body of cavalry at Turnhaut, a village seventy miles from Breda, with probable designs upon that place; and early in the year 1597 Maurice quickly assembled an army at Gertruydenberg, about four miles from Breda, for the purpose of attacking him. On the 23d of January he commenced his march, at the head of five thousand foot and four pieces of artillery; and at Osterhout joined his cavalry, collected at this place from various garrisons. Twenty miles' march in the rain, and over an inundated road, brought them to Rouels, short of a league from the enemy's camp. Between the armies was the little river Neether, crossed by a stone bridge, of which Marcellus Box took possession, with four squadrons of cavalry. Maurice passed an anxious night, expecting every hour an attack of the enemy. But all was still on the other side of the bridge, except now and then the voices of the pickets were heard.

When the morning dawned it was discovered that Vaux, the Spanish general, had withdrawn his troops from Turnhaut in the direction of the

fortified city of Herenthals. There was a narrow causeway and bridge over the river which flowed by Turnhaut, by which in single file the infantry had crossed to an upland heath, while the cavalry had forded the stream. There, amidst the brush and furze, it was suspected that they were making an ambush; but Maurice did not long hesitate to make pursuit and take the risk. Sir Francis Vere and Marcellus Box, leaders respectively of the English and Dutch troops, waded with a few of the cavalry through the narrow pass, and were followed over the causeway by two hundred musketeers. The Spaniards, in a panic, retreated as this force emerged into the plain. The whole force of cavalry and infantry now crossed over, and joined the chase. The only outlet from the broad heath was another narrow passage, towards which Vaux was urging his army, in hope to reach it and get through before Maurice could overtake them. Maurice saw this predicament at a glance, and before his foot soldiers had reached the heath decided to attack with his cavalry the solid columns of the enemy's infantry, as they moved on

surrounded by a fringe of cavalry. He ordered Hohenlo to sweep round them, and intercept their retreat through the pass. This done, he turned and fell upon the advanced columns, while Box and De Vere were attacking them in the rear. The Spanish cavalry, seized with panic, broke their ranks, and rushed from the defile and escaped. The infantry, thus deserted, gave way, and there was a general rout over the whole heath. The general, Vaux, and five thousand of his men, fell under the shot and blows of the Dutch cavalry, and five hundred fugitives were made prisoners.

Near the close of the fight Maurice, while directing the battle, and attended by a few troops, came near being run down by a body of the enemy's lancers, who had turned upon their pursuers after they had passed the defile and were chasing them across the heath. At this moment Box and Edmont came up with a handful of heavy-armed horsemen, and the lancers wheeled and fled.

The victory was complete—accomplished solely

by the cavalry, before the infantry and artillery reached the scene of conflict. Great was the rejoicing throughout the republic as the news spread abroad. This unprecedented triumph over the Spanish troops in the open plain put a new face upon the war. Thirty-eight banners were picked up on the heath, and sent to the great hall of the castle at the Hague as trophies of the victory.

During this year the Jesuits, whose arts of assassination had been foiled, tried to revive the practice of converting heretics by the threat of martyrdom. Anna von den Hove was brought before the magistrates, and under the obsolete edict of 1540 was condemned to be buried alive. The Jesuits told her that if she would renounce the reformed religion she would be saved from this horrible doom. But she preferred the martyr's crown to life. She saw, she said, heaven open, and the angels waiting to conduct her to paradise. Outside of the city of Brussels a pit was dug, and she was marched out to it, attended by priests, who, by threats and persuasions, sought

in vain to turn her from her purpose. She descended into the pit, and was covered to the waist with earth, when the last chance was given her to recant. She gave no sign of yielding, when the executioner finished his job, and left her alone with her Savior. This cool and deliberate murder of a poor and pious servant-girl sent a thrill of horror over the land. It was the last of the dreadful series of martyrdoms in the provinces.

Amelia, the sister of Maurice, this year was married, much against his advice, to Don Emmanuel, son of the Pretender of Portugal, a Catholic, and a man of no marked energy of character. She was faithful to her religion and country during her life. After her death Emmanuel became reconciled to Spain, and married a Spanish lady.

In August, Count Maurice, assisted by Hohenlo and Count William Lewis, and having in attendance his youngest brother, Frederick William, commenced a short campaign, with an army of seven thousand infantry and twelve hundred

cavalry. He captured Alpha, Rheinberg, Mears, Grol, with a garrison of twelve hundred men, Brevoort, Euschede, Ootmarsum, Oldenrach, and finally Zingen—nine fortified places. He granted generous terms to all except Brevoort, which was carried by storm, and the town and castle were burned. He was blamed for setting free the five thousand Spanish troops in these garrisons; but it turned out well for the cause, as they swelled the ranks of the mutineers in the poorly paid and half-starved army of Philip in the subdued provinces.

The next year the great statesman, Barneveldt, was sent at the head of an embassy to Henry IV, to persuade him to engage with the states and with Queen Elizabeth, if she were so disposed, in a general war with Philip, and especially with a view of driving the cardinal-archduke and his Spanish forces out of the Netherlands. But it resulted in nothing. In the course of his interviews with the king, his majesty asked, if Prince Maurice should be supported by himself and Queen Elizabeth, “would it not be possible to confer the sover-

eignty upon him." The wise advocate replied that it might be, if their allies would rescue all the Netherlands from the Spaniards! The king shook his head, and said peace was a necessity for France.

It may be added, as an illustration of the state of society in France, that when the disappointed envoys took leave of Henry he conducted them to the chamber of his mistress, Gabrielle, duchess of Beaufort, then lying in childbed, and bade them kiss the lady. She had received from them presents of Dutch fabrics, damask, and fine linen, for which she thanked them, and promised her influence in behalf of the objects of their embassy.

They then departed for England, where they found Elizabeth almost as much disposed for peace as Henry. After several unsatisfactory interviews, the negotiations terminated by the envoys offering to pay eight hundred thousand pounds in liquidation of the debt to her, in annual installments of thirty thousand pounds while the war continued. But the queen would not agree to restore

the towns which were mortgaged for the debt. The envoys agreed, in case England was invaded, to send thirty ships of war and ten thousand troops for her defense.

Chapter IX.

DEATH OF PHILIP II—ARCTIC AND ANTARCTIC EXPEDITIONS—THE DUTCH MAKE FURTHER ADVANCES TO THE NORTH AND TO THE SOUTH POLE THAN ANY PREVIOUS NAVIGATORS—OUTRAGES ON NEUTRAL TERRITORY BY THE SPANISH COMMANDER—MAURICE DEFENDS THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC—CREVECŒUR TAKEN AND RECOVERED—WALLOONS DESERT TO MAURICE.

HAVING married his son, the Infante of Spain, to the Archduchess Margaret of Austria, and the Infanta Clara Eugenie Isabella to Cardinal Albert of Austria, who had by dispensation of the pope been relieved of his priesthood, Philip II, being in delicate health, and foreboding his end, removed from Madrid to his favorite residence in the Escurial. He was suffering continual torture from the gout, and the imposthumes on the breast and joints were opened for relief, when, shocking to relate! swarms of vermin were found continually engendered by his

blood. His malady, like that of Herod, suggests the visitation of the judgment of God for his enormous pride and cruelty during his long reign.

On the 2d of July his physician pronounced him incurable, and his confessor was constrained to make the disclosure to him. He kindly thanked them for their information, and directly prepared himself, in his way, for death. A special courier was dispatched for the pope's benediction, and an exhaustive confession was made to Father Diego, his confessor, extending through three days! He said he had never intentionally committed a single act of injustice. He repeatedly received the sacrament of the Lord's-supper, and consoled himself with contemplating the relics of saints—especially a bone of St. Albans, presented to him for this purpose by Clement VIII. A human skull on his sideboard was crowned by his order, to show that a king had ascendancy over death itself. He had his funeral service minutely arranged, and the programme was rehearsed daily by priests and courtiers in his presence. He provided that thirty thousand masses should be said

for the repose of his soul, pardon was given to certain persons in prison, five hundred galley-slaves were liberated from the galleys, and four hundred maidens provided with marriage portions. Twice he received extreme unction, and five times the sacrament. At the last the dying words of Jesus were repeated by his attendants, at his request, that he might have them in his mind at the moment of death. Taking the crucifix in his hand, he said, "I die like a good Catholic, in faith and obedience to the holy Roman Church." Lying still, he was supposed to be dead, and his face was covered with a cloth; when he suddenly threw off the cloth, seized the crucifix again, kissed it, and fell back in distress. Some hours later he closed his eyes in death, September 13, 1598. His age was seventy-one years and three months, and he had reigned forty-three years.

I make no reflections on this monarch's character, except that it seemed to be like that of Saul of Tarsus, at the time of his arrest by Christ on his murderous journey to Damascus, and on

account of which he called himself the chief of sinners, though until then he thought he was “doing God service.” No doubt Philip deserved to be saved by the Roman Church, if the Roman Church could save any body, for to that huge superstition he surrendered himself, body and soul.

Thus died the man who claimed to own the several kingdoms of Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, two Sicilies, the duchy of Milan, Barbary, Guinea, many East India cities and ports, Peru, Brazil, Mexico, and the West India Isles; and whose aims were nothing short of possessing the whole earth and sea. “He endured,” says Motley, “the martyrdom of his last illness with the heroism of a saint, and died in the certainty of immortal bliss as a reward of his life of evil.”

Prince Maurice and the states general, in the year 1594, gave their sanction to the enterprise of discovering a north-eastern passage to India. Lin-schoten, in command of two ships, and Barendz, in an Amsterdam ship, attended by a yacht, set forth early in the Summer. The former took their way through the passage now called Waigats,

and the latter steered for the open sea of the North; but they were both compelled to turn back before the end of August. The next year the government made another experiment, with seven ships loaded with merchandise for the Chinese market, under the command of Linschoten, with Barendz for pilot, and Jacob Heemskerk for supercargo. They took their way this time through the Waigats, and made a landing on Staten Island, near the coast of Tartary, inhabited by the roving Samoyedes, but the coming on of Winter frightened them back. In the year 1596 Amsterdam fitted out two ships, under the command of John Cornelius von der Ryp and Barendz, with Heemskerk for supercargo.

This time they took the way of the open sea of the North. On the 5th of June they encountered fields of ice, which at a distance they took for immense flocks of white swans, and through which they sailed without much damage into the open sea beyond. Two days afterwards they had a similar experience. On the 9th of June, in latitude $74^{\circ} 30'$, they discovered an island, to

which they gave the name of Bear Island, in honor of the capture of a great polar bear, but which is now called Cherry Island. On the 21st of June, in latitude $80^{\circ} 11'$, they discovered a country, to which they gave the name of Spitzbergen. Here they found immense numbers of wild geese sitting on their eggs, and had many encounters with bears. Here they observed the variation of the needle to be sixteen degrees. The ice closing around them made their departure necessary, and they returned to Bear Island. Here they parted company. Cornelius Ryp sailed northward again, and Barendz and Heemskerk steered towards Nova Zembla. On the 17th of July Barendz anchored in Lommis Bay, at Nova Zembla. On the 15th of August, after much stormy weather, and escaping many perils of icebergs, in latitude as high as $70^{\circ} 15'$, they reached the Isles of Orange, on the north-east end of Nova Zembla. Here they discovered from the top of a hill an open sea, free from ice, stretching to the south-east as far as the eye could see. It was only the Gulf Stream, which sweeps around Nova

Zembla; and when they had got into it, in three days the ice set back upon them, and they attempted to return home by the passage south of the island and through the Waigats. But they were imprisoned by the ice, and compelled to winter on the dreary coast of Nova Zembla.

Without describing the tragic experiences of that Winter, we pass to the 14th of July, when, abandoning the ships, still fast in the ice, they took to their boats, and on the 28th of the month reached Schanshoek, all except Barendz, who succumbed to the hardships of the voyage, and was buried in the ice-covered deep. Here for the first time they met with human beings, some Russian fishermen, who accompanied them to the Waigats. They did not reach Amsterdam until the 1st of November, after an absence of seventeen months. They had gone farther north than any navigators before that time, and wintered four degrees short of that, where human beings had never dwelt. On their return they had met with Ryp at the gulf of Kildare. He had not gone far in the direction he took when they

parted before he found it necessary to return home; and he was now on a trading voyage. Rejoiced to meet his old comrades, he carried them all in his stout ship to father-land.

The idea of a north-west passage to the Indies is a dream of the past.

Another expedition was fitted out in Holland in June, 1598, to make discoveries in the direction of the Southern Pole—a fleet of seven ships, under the command of Jacob Mahin, Simon de Cordes, and Sebold de Weert. They spent nearly the whole year on the coast of Africa, during which Mahin and many of the crews died of fever, and the survivors did not reach the straits of Magellan until the 6th of April, 1599. Strange to say, the fleet was five months getting through those perilous straits, the first heavy ships that ever made the passage. Afterwards one of the ships, under Dirk Gerrits, sailed nearer to the South Pole than any navigator before that day, and the crew gave to the land they discovered the name of their commander, Gerrits, now called South Shetland. Another ship reached Japan, and

initiated the Japan trade. The ship under Sebold de Weert was the only one that returned to father-land.

We turn now to the military operations in the Netherlands. The admiral of Arrajo, in the absence of Albert, who was celebrating his marriage in Spain, with an army of twenty-seven thousand men, set out to conquer the duchies of Cleves, John's, and Berg, neutral Protestant provinces. Orsoy surrendered at his demand, and was gratified. He successively took Burick, Rheinberg, Rees, and Emmerich. He then invaded the territory of the republic, and laid siege to Deutekom, which capitulated after a short defense. Finding Maurice approaching with fifteen hundred horse and six thousand foot, he cared not to pursue his victories further, but penetrated into Munster, Cleves, and Berg, where he allowed his soldiers to commit every outrage upon men and women and property. And yet these provinces were neutral territories, and their only offense was that they were Protestants!

Having committed these offenses against inter-

national law, the admiral made another onslaught against the republic, by an excursion into the isle of Bommel. The city resisted his assault; but the fortress of Crevecœur was taken and a fort erected, constructed to command the course of the Waal and the Meuse, called Fort St. Andrew. Soon after Maurice managed to seduce the garrisons of these places, made up of Walloon soldiers, and to procure the surrender of the places, and the enlistment of the Walloons in the service of the republic. They numbered twelve hundred, and were placed under the nominal command of Frederick Henry, youngest son of William the Silent. They were known afterwards as the "New Beggars."

Chapter X.

STATES GENERAL ORDER AN INVASION OF FLANDERS, AGAINST THE JUDGMENT OF PRINCE MAURICE AND COUNT WILLIAM LEWIS—THE DUTCH ARMY MARCH BY LAND TO NIEUPORT—DEFEAT AT THE BRIDGE LEFFINGEN OF COUNT ERNEST—GREAT BATTLE OF THE ARCHDUKE AND MAURICE AT NIEUPORT—FINAL VICTORY OF MAURICE—HE NOW ABANDONS THE ILL-JUDGED ENTERPRISE—CAPTURE OF RHEINBURG AND MEUSE—THE ARCHDUKE BESIEGES OSTEND—COMIC DEVICE OF SIR FRANCIS VERE TO PROCURE DELAY OF THE ASSAULT—THE ASSAULT IS REPELLED.

THE states general, early in the Summer of 1600, determined to raise an army for the invasion of Flanders, from which the archduke was supplied with troops and provisions. Their plan was to capture Nieuport, and then to proceed to recapture Dunkirk. Ostend, another seaport, had also been held by the republic and defended by a garrison. These points carried, a basis would be secured for further offensive oper-

ations, and for driving the Spaniards out of all the Netherlands. Barneveldt and other leading statesmen did not comprehend the difficulty of reconquering provinces that were willing subjects of the conquerors and superstitious votaries of the Catholic faith. Maurice and his cousin, William Lewis, did not approve of the enterprise, believing it would be exhaustive of their military strength, and, if unsuccessful, put the republic in jeopardy. Sir Francis Vere, commanding the English contingent, held the same conviction, believing that the resources of the archduke had been greatly underrated. Nevertheless, as obedient subjects of the government, they submitted to the decision. Lewis William was directed to defend the eastern frontiers, while Maurice and Sir Francis Vere were to lead the expedition.

The place of rendezvous was the neighborhood of Flushing, where an immense fleet, larger than ever was known, of thirteen hundred vessels of all kinds, was collected to convey the troops to Nieuport.

The army mustered twelve thousand foot and

sixteen hundred horse. The distance was but thirty-five miles, and one day would have sufficed, with a strong and favorable breeze, to convey them to their destination. But after waiting two days for a fair wind, and no prospect appearing of a change, it was determined to cross to the nearest landing on the Flemish coast, and to march overland to Nieuport, while the fleet should, as soon as possible, come round by sea. It was four days before the army arrived at the fort of Oudenburg, which was soon captured. Here Maurice remained ten days to make his arrangements for the capture of Nieuport, meantime sending Count Solms to capture the redoubts about Ostend, and especially the fort of St. Albert.

The idea of the statesmen, that the peasantry would rise and join the invading army, was bitterly disappointed. They hated the Protestants, and fled at their approach; and when any of the stragglers of the army fell into their hands they were cruelly murdered.

On the 1st of July Maurice crossed the bridge at Leffingen and arrived at Nieuport, where he

found the fleet had arrived that morning. It will hardly be believed in these days that it took thirteen days to travel forty miles, and that, too, for the purpose of surprising a fortified town! This town, made famous, like Waterloo, by the great battle to be fought there, lay on the south side of a little stream, half a league from the sea, and was at high water a good seaport. The main body of the troops crossed this stream; but over one thousand men, under Count Ernest remained on the north side, or the side towards Ostend.

The archduke rapidly collected his troops, among which were several garrisons of mutineers, who obeyed his summons, accompanied by liberal promises of pay after they had driven the invaders from the land. On the 1st of July he appeared at Fort Oudenburg, and, finding the garrison off on foraging parties, he had no difficulty in recapturing it. He seized also all the ramparts taken by Maurice about Ostend, except Fort St. Albert, which he could not stay to reduce, but hastened on to overtake the army of the republic.

A straggler from Oudenburg brought in the

evening the news to Count Ernest of the capture of that fortress and the approach of the Spanish army. Immediately the count took boat and crossed over the river to give notice to Prince Maurice. At once he saw that his whole scheme was frustrated, and instead of taking Nieuport as a support and basis for further operations, he would be obliged to fight the enemy in the open field, for all communication with Ostend was cut off by the rapid advance of the archduke.

Sir Francis Vere and the other officers were called from their beds to consult on the emergency, and it was agreed, with little dissent, that they would have to meet the archduke as Maurice suggested. On the second council Vere advised that they should march out and meet the Spaniards half-way; but Maurice saw that this was more heroic than practical, for the bulk of the army was on the south side of the river, and it was high water at three o'clock of the morning. He, therefore, ordered his cousin Ernest to hasten with his command to the bridge at Leffingen, to stop the advance of the Spaniards. His orders

were obeyed with promptness; but when Ernest arrived in sight of the bridge, to his amazement, he found it already in possession of the enemy. A letter sent to Ostend, to have the garrison go out to destroy the bridge before the Spaniards reached it, was intercepted, and did not reach its destination until after the battle was over. What now was to be done? The brave youth saw there was no alternative to fighting the advancing host, in order to delay as long as possible their march to Nieuport. He immediately took position behind a dike, on which he planted his two cannon and drew up his two thousand troops in order of battle.

Coming on, the archduke found his path obstructed with what at first he thought was the whole Dutch army; but directly, finding he had only a detachment to contend with, he ordered his troops to advance in force. They were met by four discharges from the field-pieces, which tore through the head of the column; but still it moved on, and seized the cannon by overwhelming numbers. A panic now seized first the cavalry

and then the infantry, and, in spite of all that Ernest and other brave officers could do, they fled in all directions, pursued and cut down by the enemy. Not less than a thousand men perished. A check, however, was made to the enemy's progress by this disastrous skirmish, which gave Maurice more time to collect his army and bring them in position to meet the shock of the oncoming host.

Before nine o'clock his whole army was across the river, and, dripping with water, they were ready to take their positions for the conflict.

Knowing that his case was desperate, Maurice, without consulting with his officers, ordered the whole fleet to put to sea, that his troops might see that they had no hope but in victory. The enemy, seeing the ships moving off, concluded that Maurice was escaping with his army, and it put an end to their deliberations as to whether they should not rest and intrench themselves after the battle they had fought already that morning. On they came; but it was to find no signs of confusion or of flight in the republican army.

The archduke rode through his ranks on his white charger, and impressed his men with the belief that they had no ordinary work before them.

Here, drawn up on the downs, were the solid squares of the spearsmen and musketeers, with the heavy-armed cavalry in front. Behind the downs was the hard beach, and the sea covered with one thousand sails, and landward were the green meadows. Here was to be fought the Waterloo of that day.

On his part, Maurice, in full armor, and distinguished by his orange plume and scarf, addressed his troops to impress them with the conviction that nothing could save them now but their own valor; and such was their situation it was only a question to win a victory there or to be butchered by the enemy, for flight was impossible. He was ready to lay down his life for his country; but he trusted in God that, if they would do their duty as they had done in other days, the God of heaven would give them a victory, such as they had never yet had in their long war for independence. The army responded with a shout,

and the Walloons swore with uplifted hands that they would follow Maurice, their new commander, to victory or death.

Just before the archduke ordered the main assault a slight skirmish took place, when a Spanish horseman was taken prisoner by Count Lewis's cavalry. He began loudly to boast of the great numbers of the Spanish army, and of the victory which they had already gained over the troops of Count Ernest. This was the first news of that event which Lewis had received, for Maurice had sent on board the fleet the messengers from the defeated force as soon as they reached his camp. The prisoner was gagged at once, and finally shot, as he strove by gestures to make the announcement he was sent to make.

The plan of Maurice was to charge the enemy as he advanced with a portion of Count Lewis's cavalry, who were to retreat after the first shock, and so draw the vanguard within range of the battery planted on the downs. But Sir Francis Vere did not wait for this maneuver, but ordered the artillery to fire at once upon the advanced

guard of the Spanish cavalry. This broke and wheeled behind the infantry, who moved straight on to the downs. Then began a furious hand to hand fight amid the hills and hollows, the combatants wading in sand knee deep. While this was going on Lewis moved round upon the green meadows, and charged upon the enemy's cavalry and routed them. The battle went on in the downs in the greatest confusion, and victory seemed to wave from side to side. Sir Francis Vere, who fought like a private soldier in the thick of the hand to hand fight, was twice shot through the leg. He continued to contend until his horse was shot and fell with him and on him, when Sir Robert Dury came to his help, and lifted him on his horse and bore him to the rear.

Meantime Count Lewis had collected his cavalry and made a second charge upon the enemy's horse, who were recovered from the panic, and stood, better prepared than before for the shock. The Spanish infantry poured in a terrible fire upon their advancing columns, which broke their ranks and drove them back in confusion.

Maurice beheld the disaster as he sat on horseback amidst his reserve corps, and felt that the day was lost unless his last throw would turn the tide of battle. Three reserve corps of cavalry were ordered to advance in different directions around and through the downs. These fresh and unexpected assaults were successful. The fugitives, seeing this, rallied. The Lechen sailors, who were on the point of abandoning the cannon on the sand-hills, once more opened fire upon the enemy, and a shout as of victory went up from the ranks of the republican army, when the whole mass of the Spaniards were seized with panic, broke ranks, and fled in every direction, over the meadows, along the beach, and through the downs. The horse of Mendoza, the admiral of Aragon, fell with him on this last charge, and he was taken prisoner. The archduke, who had fought bravely, was slightly wounded in the ear in the early part of the battle. He then changed his horse and armor, to avoid being distinguished by the enemy. As the rout of his army took place, a Walloon pikeman seized his horse by the

bridle, and cried, "Surrender, scoundrel!" but he was rescued by his followers, and with the duke of Aumale, who also was wounded, and with a dozen troopers, escaped over the Leffingen bridge, and reached Bruges. Isabella had heard that he was killed; and as now she heard the news from his lips of the defeat of his army it was with less distress because of his escape.

Prince Maurice was overcome with emotion as he saw the victory turned on his side by the onset of his reserves, and he threw himself upon the sands, and with uplifted hands and streaming eyes exclaimed: "O God, what are we human creatures, to whom thou hast brought such honor, and to whom thou hast vouchsafed such a victory!" Three thousand of the enemy were killed, and one hundred and twenty standards were taken, together with all their artillery, including the two field-pieces taken from Count Ernest in the early morning. Ernest himself had escaped from the slaughter of his troops, and was probably engaged in the final conflict, though no mention is made of him in the history of the battle.

Prince Maurice encamped for the night upon the battle-field, and the next day he went to Ostend, where a public thanksgiving was held. "Blessed be God's holy name," exclaimed the chaplain of the prince, "for his right hand has led us into hell and brought us forth again. I know not if I am awake or if I dream, when I think how God has in one moment raised us from the dead."

Mendoza, the prisoner, was assigned to Lewis Gunther, to reward him by his ransom for his great gallantry; and he also received as a present from Maurice the beautiful white Spanish stallion of the archduke, which had cost him eleven hundred crowns. Count Ernest received the white horse of the Infanta Isabella, which had been captured in the battle.

In England the news of the victory was received with the greatest delight and exultation. Elizabeth declared that "she thanked God upon both knees for vouchsafing such a splendid victory to the united provinces."

The garrison of Nieuport was not yet taken; and, after a few skirmishes with the outposts,

Maurice, knowing that a re-enforcement had been sent to it while his forces were withdrawn across the river, concluded to abandon it and the whole of the ill-advised invasion of the Spanish provinces. He embarked his troops, and returned to Holland.

The next year, 1601, Maurice marched with ten thousand troops to lay siege to Rheinberg, on the Rhine, with a view to give greater protection to the borders of the republic by interfering with the passage of troops and munitions to the Spanish army. In less than a month he was ready to explode a mine under the fortifications. Of the soldiers of the garrison who were blown into the air, two of them fell into his camp, one of whom, strange to relate, was unharmed. "Coming, as he did, through the air at cannon-ball speed," naively writes Motley, "he was of course able to bring the freshest intelligence from the interior of the town." He confirmed Maurice in his judgment of the inability of the town to hold out; and, persisting three weeks longer, he accepted its surrender on terms as generous as he had been in

the habit of according in such cases. After this he took without much delay the city of Meurs, farther up the Rhine, and proceeded to lay siege to Bois-le-duc, but abandoned it to guard Holland from a threatened incursion by Frederick von der Borg.

Meanwhile the seaport of Ostend, the only possession of the republic in Flanders, was besieged by the archduke, with an army made up of the best soldiers and generals under his jurisdiction. It was deemed of the greatest importance to his Belgic provinces that that port should be taken from the enemy. It was "a thorn in the foot of Belgium" which must be extracted, and he determined to take it, if it cost him an "eighteen years' siege." It was defended by upwards of eighty companies of infantry, composed of English and Dutch troops, and mercenaries of various nations, under the command of Sir Francis Vere. To these were added, as the siege went on, company after company of Red-coats, the sweepings of English prisons and victims of the London press-gangs. As it was possible

to invest the place only on the land side, it was impossible for the archduke to reduce it by cutting off supplies. He must capture the eighteen forts outside of the town and take it by assault.

It would be tedious to describe minutely the progress of the siege, which was carried on with the utmost vigor from July until near Christmas. At that time, so great had been his losses by pestilence and the firing of the besiegers, Sir Francis deemed it impossible to hold the external ramparts longer unless re-enforcements should arrive. He called a council of his officers, and asked advice as to what should be done. He stated he had the best information that the enemy was prepared for his grand assault, and he could not expect re-enforcements short of twenty-four or forty-eight hours. They heard in silence, and then referred the question back to him for solution. He suggested that a proposal to treat for the surrender of the town might be made to the archduke, and that negotiations should be protracted long enough to give time for the arrival of the expected re-enforcements. The scheme was ap-

plauded, without much consciousness of its dis-honorable features, and before night a drummer was sent to sound a parley. The archduke fell into the trap, and appointed two of his most trusty officers, Antonio and Serrano, to negotiate on his part for the capitulation of the town.

They came into the town in the dark on the western side of the city, and were brought to the general's quarters. They found him in a greatly excited mood by a sudden uproar and beating to arms in the eastern section of the town. He declared that the Spaniards were taking advantage of the parley, and were making hostile demonstrations against the town. The envoys knew not what to say, and they were chagrined and amazed when the general ordered them to be conducted immediately back to the outposts. When they arrived at the place where they crossed into the town the tide had risen so as to make the passage impracticable. Nothing would do but to take them to the other end of the town. This was objected to by the envoys, as they were wearied by traveling through the mud, and they requested

to be allowed to remain in town until morning. But Sir Francis would hear of nothing but their departure; and so they were obliged to follow the escort, who, according to private orders, conducted them through circuitous routes, full of mud and mire. "Ah, the villainous town of Ostend!" exclaimed Serrano, as he reached the outer post called the Half-moon. He begged a pipe of tobacco; but he was told that they kept no such "medical drugs" in the fort, but they could have plenty of good English ale. They were then conveyed in a boat across the Gullet, and delivered to the sentries on the Spanish side.

In the morning they related their experience to the archduke; but, not seeing through the device, he ordered them to go back and renew the negotiations. They did so, and found Sir Francis in a better mood, and ready to discuss with them the proposition he had to present. "What terms do you propose?" they asked. Sir Francis gravely replied, "His highness has only to withdraw from before Ostend, and leave us, his poor neighbors, in peace and quietness." The astonished envoys

replied that they had not come to treat for the abandonment of the siege, but for the surrender of the town. Violent altercations ensued, and were protracted until Vere announced supper, and invited the envoys to sup with him. It was Christmas eve, according to Old Style, which the Spaniards observed, and so the guests were delicately entertained with eggs and fish. English beer and French wines were freely dispensed until a late hour, when the Spaniards were fain to retire to rest.

The next day, outside of the town, in expectation of the capitulation, the country people were assembled in holiday dress, and the archduke and the archduchess, with her retinue of noble ladies, mingled with the throng, as if it were a gala day. Inside, the negotiators were ready to resume the questions of the evening; but a change of wind had brought the expected supplies of men and means, and there was now no occasion to prolong the farce. Sir Francis explained to the Spaniards, in the briefest terms, that it would not be necessary to detain them longer; and they, crestfallen

and disgusted, were conducted to their encampment.

On the morning of the 7th of January the grand assault, postponed by the base but comical artifice of Sir Francis, began in good earnest. All day long the batteries of the enemy played upon the defenses of the town. Two thousand shots, a vast number for that time, but small compared with modern warfare, were discharged. The darkest of nights set in; and now, all being ready, the trumpets of assault were sounded. Two thousand men, whose tramp alone revealed their numbers, marched through the bed of the harbor, it being ebb-tide, and assailed the sand-hill fortress. Suddenly an illumination, previously prepared, burst forth, and revealed the two thousand coming on, followed, rank after rank, by as many more, with the cavalry in the rear pressing them forward. Instantly discharges from every kind of artillery were directed upon the mass, mowing them down in heaps; but as fast as one row went down another took their place. And thus the slaughter continued for two hours; when,

the tide being on the rise, the flood-gates were opened, and the assailants, seeing this, rushed back, but too late to escape. They were drowned by hundreds in the harbor, or were swept out to sea.

On every side of the town the same disasters happened to the Spanish army. Two thousand of their best troops perished on that fearful night, and the assault was a failure; but the siege was not ended! It was one of the greatest in history; and students of the art of war from every nation, and men of the highest rank, had been for longer or shorter periods in both camps, as in a military school. Further on we shall see how, under another commander, the Spaniards carried their point and captured the little seaport, so driving the Dutch republicans out of Belgium.

Chapter XI.

MAURICE LAYS SIEGE TO GRONE—TREATS WITH THE MUTINEERS AT HOOGSTRACTEN—EXPLOITS OF DUTCH PRIVATEERS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN—FORMATION OF THE UNIVERSAL EAST INDIA COMPANY—SIEGE OF OSTEND GOES ON—DEATH OF ELIZABETH AND ACCESSION OF JAMES I—CECIL PRIME MINISTER—PHILIP III OF SPAIN—SULLY PRIME MINISTER OF HENRY IV—AMBROSE SPINOLA NOW COMMANDER OF SPANIARDS UNDER ALBERT—OSTEND CAPTURED—OPERATIONS OF MAURICE—TAKES ISLAND CADZAND—BESIEGES SLUYS AND TAKES IT.

ON the 29th of June, 1602, Maurice, in obedience to the general wish, marched an army of twenty-three thousand soldiers, all told, into Brabant, and approached Thieneu, near which the admiral of Aragon, now relieved under parole, had an intrenched camp of fifteen thousand troops. But he strove in vain to bring on a general engagement, and, believing that it would cost too much blood to capture works so strong and well manned, he wisely withdrew, and proceeded to

lay siege to Grone, a town on the Meuse, which had been treacherously surrendered to the Spaniards. It was a portion of the republic not yet recovered, and was legally an inheritance of the Orange family. He employed all his science and skill in constructing fifty forts in all directions around the town, and made its submission only a question of time. After sixty days it was surrendered, on the same honorable terms granted to other cities. All who remained in the city were to render allegiance to the republic, and to abstain from the public exercise of the Roman religion, but with no espionage upon their private or family faith and devotions.

Meantime regiments of mutineers had seized the city of Hoogstracten, in Flanders, and made it strong, against the anathemas and power of the archduke. They were negotiated with by Maurice, and authorized, if driven to extremities, to take refuge in the republic under the guns of Aergen-op-Zoom. They were afterwards threatened by Frederick Van der Borg, with an army of ten thousand men. Maurice hastened at once

to their aid with eleven thousand troops, when Van der Borg made haste to withdraw. Maurice entered the city, and made a treaty with them that the city should be restored to the republic, and they should have their encampment in Grone.

This year was distinguished by a series of victories in the Indian Ocean, over the Spaniards and Portuguese, by the privateers of the Dutch. Andreas Hurtado de Mendoza, with a fleet of twenty-five vessels, set out to punish the city of Bantam, in Java, for presuming, against the bull of the pope, to trade with heretics. They found there a Dutch skipper, Wolfert Hermann, with five trading vessels, manned by about three hundred men. Notwithstanding the vast odds, the brave Dutchman made an immediate attack upon the Spaniards. With his light and swift craft, he darted through the fleet, avoiding close contact with the larger vessels, and firing well-aimed broadsides into the smaller ones, until he had sunk or driven ashore or captured a third of Mendoza's squadron, and compelled them to put to sea again, and seek to satisfy their vengeance

upon the unprotected villages of the other parts of the island. Here the city of Batavia was founded, and a commencement made of the grand commercial empire under the name of the Universal East India Company.

From Java Hermann proceeded to Bouda, and made a treaty with the little republic there for a monopoly of nutmegs and spices.

In Achia, the capital of Sumatra, a similar treaty was made with the king, who sent an embassy to the Dutch republic on the return of Hermann. At St. Helena he gave his guests a specimen of Dutch skill and bravery by capturing a large, strongly-armed Portuguese carrack, laden with a rich cargo. The ambassadors visited the encampment of Maurice at Grone, and saw that not only on the land, but on the sea, the Dutch had no superiors in the art of war.

Jacob Heemskerk also captured, in the straits of Malacca, a Lisbon carrack, full of the richest Eastern merchandise. Captain Nek made treaties of commerce with the rulers of Ternate, Tydor, and Ceylon.

The siege of Ostend still goes on. Gaston Spinola had asked and obtained permission to visit Maurice's camp at Grone to see a sick relative; and, conversing about Ostend, Maurice ridiculed some of the measures employed by the besiegers. He added:

"If the archduke has set his heart upon it, he had far better try to buy Ostend."

"What is your price?" asked Spinola. "Will he take two hundred thousand ducats?"

"Certainly not less than a million and a half," replied Maurice.

But nothing but hard fighting was thought of by the Spaniards. Bucknoy, the chief director of the siege, kept at work, on the east side toiling to close up the Gullet, the new harbor made by the fury of the sea in a storm, and on the west side pushing his mines under the old harbor. The besiegers, advised by Maurice, were busy excavating a new harbor, to have access to the sea if the Gullet should be obstructed. Thus, amidst constant firing of cannon, these patient delvers went on with the work all Winter, every

hour one and another falling with his spade in his hand.

On the 13th of April, 1603, a terrific tornado swept over the coast, and cast the sea over the ramparts, driving the soldiers into the garrisons. A lull came at evening, and the ramparts were again manned. But now the alarm was sounded that the Spaniards were assaulting Fort Porcupine. Dorp, who was now governor of Ostend, rallied his forces, and drove off the invaders. But that was only a feint, to distract attention while the principal assault was to be made at the other end of the town. Three forts were scaled by the Spaniards, Walloons, and Italians, as if they had been gifted with wings. The garrisons fought desperately to repel them; but they were slaughtered and driven out before Dorp could bring on his re-enforcements. All night the battle went on; but the Spaniards could not be expelled, and the defenders of the city were obliged to withdraw within the inner works. In two years the besiegers had only succeeded in taking these three forts.

The year 1603 was marked by the death of Elizabeth and the succession of James VI of Scotland as James I of Great Britain. In her chair, as she sat dying, she was asked who should be her successor. She had said before that none but kings had occupied her throne, and she should be succeeded by a king. This time she said, "Not a rough;" and when the king of Scots was mentioned she nodded assent. She died on the 24th of March, aged nearly seventy.

The accession of James united the parts of the illustrious island which henceforth was to be known as the kingdom of Great Britain. James was now decidedly Protestant in religion, but intolerant; well versed in theology; having considerable learning, but more conceit; as a statesman, without breadth of view or sagacity; selfish, capricious, speculative; inclined to peace, and without courage; afraid of a drawn sword, given to prodigality, fond of entertainments, and not unfrequently getting drunk at the festive board. The only very good thing about him was his hereditary claim to both the crowns, and so ending

forever those hostilities which had drenched the border in blood.

He had the luck of being already under the influence of Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, the son of Lord Burleigh, so long the leading counsellor of Elizabeth, and of making him his prime minister. Cecil was all intellect, with a ready and persuasive eloquence, unflinching courage, and imperious and decisive will. He was in body ill-shapen; but with a handsome countenance, pale, and of somewhat anxious expression. He had large experience in public life, and was thoroughly read in the political history and geography of the world. He was a Puritan in his private sentiments, but had not sufficient zeal and determination to check the intolerant spirit of his master, who was from the first determined to make all the sects conform to the Established Church, or to banish them from the country. Cecil was not particularly friendly to the Dutch republic. He was jealous of its growing power as a commercial nation.

On the throne of Spain sat an imbecile,

Philip III, who gave up the reins of government to the duke of Lerma, an overbearing, proud, avaricious, unscrupulous grandee, who made himself immensely rich by the spoils of office, and contrived to encircle the royal household with his own family, thereby to rule and manage every thing.

The chief counselor of Henry IV was De Bethune, afterwards marquis de Rosny, and finally duke of Sully, by which name he is chiefly known in history. His first visit to the court of James I gave him great influence with the king, and they concerted a scheme by which Henry and James should unite to break up the Austrian Empire, protect the republics of Switzerland and Holland, and humble the pride of Philip III. The scheme, however, was abortive, and the Dutch republic was henceforth left to defend itself and to promote its own prosperity and aggrandizement.

To return to Ostend, the principal theater of war. There appeared in the Spanish camp, in October, a new commander, Ambrose Spinola, marquis of Venafri, of a noble Genoese family.

Inspired by some such enthusiasm as seized Joan D'Arc, he offered to raise money enough from his family and commercial friends to complete the siege, provided he might have supreme command under the archduke of all the forces engaged to carry on the siege. He had not been trained to arms, and he had no experience in directing war-like enterprises; though, like other noble personages, he had put himself to school for two seasons in the Low Countries. He was thirty-four years of age, of a fine intellectual countenance and aristocratic bearing. To the chagrin of all the old veterans of the army, this young and inexperienced enthusiast was, by the absolute authority of the king and the duke of Lerma, put over them all. The archduke at first hesitated to indorse the strange appointment; but afterwards he came to approve of it, and he gave the young general his cordial support.

On his first glance at the besieging operations, Spinola decided that the project of fitting up or controlling the Gullet was not the way to do, but that the undermining of the forts and ramparts

on the western side was feasible. At it he went; and very soon, by his labors and endurance of hardships, he elicited the confidence of the troops, and they roused themselves to fresh efforts.

All through the dreary months of Winter the mining and countermining went on. The storms, more furious than had been known for years, came to the aid of the Spaniards, and nearly washed away one of the principal forts, called the Sand Hill. Five governors succeeded each other in taking command of the little town, and in perishing in the skirmishes and assaults that took place from time to time.

On the 2d of April a principal ravelin, the Polder Ravelin, was stormed and carried by the Spaniards, with great loss on their part, but with the slaughter of every brave man that defended it. A fortnight after another principal ravelin was carried.

On the 29th of May a mine was sprung under the great fort, the Porcupine. The same day an attempt to carry another fortress was triumphantly repelled with great slaughter of the enemy.

Four days afterwards this same fortress was torn to pieces by the explosion of the mine so long preparing beneath it; but when the Spaniards sprang into the breach, sure now of getting into the town, to their surprise and dismay they found an entirely new interior bulwark, which had been raised and mounted with heavy guns in anticipation of this crisis. A blaze from this new volcano and a rain of cannon-balls burst upon them; and they rushed back, leaving their wounded and dying to fill the breach which but just now was to them the path of victory.

Again the unconquerable Dutchmen, expecting their new counterscarp to be undermined, soon proceeded to erect still another narrower fortification as their last defense. This they toiled at day and night, amidst falling balls, and using every sort of material that was left in the almost obliterated town, scraping up even the bones and half-consumed bodies of their dead comrades in the cemeteries. This last defense they called Little Troy.

On the 17th of June the Spaniards sprang a mine under another of the western bulwarks; but

when they made the assault they were met and hurled back. But another fortress, the Great Polder, fell into their hands. And now shiploads of materials for the completion of Little Troy arrived from Zealand.

On the 13th of September the last of the outer works on the western side, the Sand Hill, which for three years had resisted the storming of the Spaniards and the fury of the ocean, was captured, and nothing remained now but Little Troy to withstand the enemy.

Maurice, as we shall see, had started with an army to make an effort to raise the siege; but he was delayed by the capture of Sluys, a seaport far more valuable than Ostend, and by the impassable state of the roads. Nothing being heard of his approaching, Marquette, the governor of Ostend, called a council of war, and submitted to it the question of capitulation. It was unanimously agreed that not enough remained of Ostend to be worth contending for longer. On being offered favorable terms they struck their flag, the 20th of September, 1604, and the

garrison, still numbering three thousand men in robust health, marched out with arms in their hands and with four cannon. Spinola, in admiration of their unexampled bravery and endurance, entertained the officers with a splendid banquet, and afterwards dismissed the whole body to join the army of Maurice at Sluys.

The archduke and the Infanta Isabella rode with Spinola into the captured town, and found it nothing but ruins. Not a house was left standing. It was a great charnel-house, honey-combed by the underground burrows, from which the inhabitants were taking their departure. Isabella wept as she beheld the desolation, and thought of the one hundred thousand lives of friends and foes which had been sacrificed for the possession of the place.

We go back to the 25th of April, to trace the course of the stadholder, Prince Maurice. On that day, in a swarm of vessels, he passed over the West Scheldt to the island of Cadzand, at the head of an army of eighteen thousand infantry and horse, on his way to besiege Sluys. In two

days the island, with all its forts, was in his possession. Had he gone directly up to Sluys, he would probably have surprised it. But his delay gave Spinola time to send a force to guard the passage across the Sluys channel. The town was situated amidst a net-work of small streams and creeks, which made it difficult of access on the land side. A peasant, well acquainted with the whole labyrinth of waters, came into his camp, and offered to guide his army over a practicable road which wound round to the east and south of Sluys.

In three days his army was safely marched to Oostburg, and thence to Fort Coxie, which he took, and thence to the fortress of St. Catherine. Here he paused, and sent back for his cannon. Nine pieces arrived, and a cannonading commenced. Finding the place garrisoned mostly by guerillas, he gave notice that such irregular soldiers would not find quarter when the place was captured. He found the quagmire no place for establishing batteries for a regular siege, and he ordered the guns to be carried back. In doing

this, such was the outcry of the soldiers as the guns sunk into the mire that the garrison, mistaking the uproar for the arrival of re-enforcements of artillery, fell into a panic, and, under cover of night, deserted the fort!

This place being taken, the army advanced to Ysendyke and invested it. In a few days the garrison of six hundred Italians surrendered. While thus engaged, an expedition was sent down from Sluys to Cadzand, to surprise the place and cut off access to the supplies of Maurice and to his fleet. It was not successful. A regiment of Scotchmen, by hard fighting, defended the place and beat off the invaders. Shortly after Aard-lasburg, a fortified town only four miles from Sluys, surrendered to Maurice upon the first summons. By bold and successful skirmishes he secured possession of two streams, the Sweet and the Salt, running to Sluys, and there remained nothing in his way to the great sea channel of Sluys, called the Swint, but Fort St. Joris. This he captured easily on the 23d of May. The Swint being now under his control, he went to

work in his usual elaborate manner to invest the city.

On the 30th of May an unsuccessful attempt was made to send provisions and re-enforcements into the beleaguered city. From the prisoners taken in the battles with the three relieving parties information was obtained that the city was short of provisions. It was now clear that the town would not be able to endure a long siege.

After enduring till near midsummer the horrors of a famine, the afflicted town heard that Spinola was coming to their rescue. On the 8th of August he appeared with a strong detachment from the camp around Ostend; and in the neighborhood of the Salt and Sweet streams he made a vigorous assault upon the encampment of Count Lewis William. He was repelled, and moved off to Forts St. Catherine and St. Philip, which he easily recaptured. He then fought his way across the water at Oostburg, and crossed into Cadzand. Here he had to face again that noble soldier, Lewis William, who held him at bay until Prince Maurice arrived with regiments of reserve, when

the Spaniards were repulsed, and, retracing their steps, returned to the camp around Ostend.

Nothing now remained for Sluys but to capitulate it on the best terms. These were freely granted by the conqueror, and the famine-wasted troops marched out of the city with their arms and colors.

The possession of this then important seaport of Zealand was more than a compensation for the loss of Ostend.

Chapter XII.

KING JAMES MAKES TREATY OF PEACE WITH PHILIP III AND ARCHDUKE ALBERT—REJOICING IN LONDON AND PARIS AT THE FATE OF SLUYS—SPINOLA IS MADE A PRINCE—HAINAULT DESTROYS A FLEET CONVOYING TROOPS FROM SPAIN—OPERATIONS OF MAURICE AGAINST SPINOLA—DEFEAT OF THE DUTCH CAVALRY AT MULHEIM—SPINOLA GOES TO SPAIN, AND, RETURNING, CAPTURES GROL AND RHEINBERG—MAURICE TAKES LOCHERN—LAYS SIEGE TO GROL, BUT RETIRES ON THE APPROACH OF SPINOLA—BOTH ARMIES GO INTO WINTER QUARTERS—THE WAR IS ENDED—TREATY OF PEACE—NAVAL VICTORY AT GIBRALTAR.

NOTWITHSTANDING the absurd agreement of James I and Sully to break down the empires of Maximilian and Philip III, in the Summer of 1604 we find James signing a treaty of peace with Philip III and Archduke Albert, in which it was agreed that neither of the contracting parties should assist the rebels or enemies of the other. They would strive to bring about the pacification of the Netherlands. The pledged

cities occupied by the English troops should be restored, as agreed, to the Dutch republic, unless the republic should prove obstinate in respect of making peace with Spain! “The wolf and the watch-dog,” says Motley, characterizing the whole thing in a word, “would unite to bring back the erring flock to the fold.” One decent thing James did. He recognized Caron, the envoy of the republic, as an ambassador of the same rank as the Spanish ambassador, much to the chagrin and against the remonstrance of that dignitary.

The English people did not sympathize with their silly sovereign in his leanings towards Spain; and this they showed by their rejoicings and exultations when they received news of the fall of Sluys. In London salutes from the shipping, bonfires in the streets, and thanksgivings from the pulpits proclaimed the joy of the people for the victory of Maurice. The populace of Paris behaved in a similar manner.

In Spain Spinola met with universal applause. He expected to be made a grandee, and wear his hat in the presence of royalty; but, though

the mean jealousy of Lerma refused him that honor, the king made him a prince.

In the Spring of 1605 Spinola dispatched a force of Spanish troops, in a fleet of merchant ships under Sarmiento, to add to the army in Belgium. Vice-admiral Hainault was on the watch for them, and, overhauling them as they were passing by Dover, he drove some ashore, to find protection under British guns, burnt others, and took possession of the rest—tying the crews and soldiers by couples together, and throwing them into the sea. But a small portion of those who took refuge in England ever reached the Flemish coast.

About this time Maurice sent Count Ernest Cassimir, with seven thousand troops, to surprise Amsterdam; but his army was so long delayed in their passage up the Scheldt that the garrison got information of it, and was prepared to receive them. Nothing was accomplished.

Spinola was now again at the head of the Spanish forces, and he conceived the bold design of invading Friesland. He maneuvered so as to

detain Maurice in his encampment at Cadzand; and while he seemed to be aiming at Sluys he hurried his army northward, took Oldenzael, and made for Lingen. If that were taken he could assault Coevorden, and, taking that, press on to seize the sole pass over the Bourtanger morass.

Maurice followed him rapidly, but he was too late to save Lingen. Lewis William joined him at Deventer, and they hurried on with their united forces to get first to Coevorden. Spinola had much the start of them; but, strange to relate, instead of proceeding directly forward, he halted, and turned off toward the Rhine. Maurice at once threw a re-enforcement into Coevorden, and then turned off to watch his antagonist's movements. The armies stood facing each other for a fortnight; when Maurice made a dash upon an exposed portion of the enemy, including the famous Italian cavalry under Count Trivulsio, stationed at Mulheim, on the river Ruhr, which separated them from the main body of their army. Marcellus Box was ordered to cross the shallow stream and take the castle of Brock, opposite

Mulheim, so as to intercept the flight of the detachment towards head-quarters; and Count Frederick Henry was to surprise them at Malheim, while Maurice followed with the reserve to support him. But the troops of Count Frederick Henry missed their way, and were so long in reaching Mulheim that the cavalry of Trivulso was prepared to meet them. When the Dutch troopers came up, and beheld them thus drawn out in battle array, a sudden and insane panic seized them, and they turned and fled. Box had waded the river and captured the castle, and stood waiting for the success of the attempted surprise on the other side; but, instead of seeing the enemy flying in terror, he saw them wading in order through the stream, and there he beheld at the same time those whom he had driven from the castle rallying, combining with them to assail him. Count Henry at this moment appeared with a few of his troopers who had not deserted him, and together the two parties made an attack upon the Spanish troops crossing the river. But now a second panic took place, and the greater

part fled from the enemy in the direction opposite to Maurice's approach with the reserves. When he arrived at the bank of the river it was only to witness the rout of his cavalry, which he could do nothing to prevent, a river being between him and them. He drew up his forces on the bank, and sent Horace Vere with his regiment across the stream, to protect the fugitives as they made their escape over it back to the main body of the army. Thus ended the combat. The loss on each side was about five hundred men—among them, on the Spanish side, was Count Trivulsio, who fell in the moment of victory. Count Henry barely escaped with his life. He was surrounded by a party of the enemy, and rescued by a soldier who lost his life in the endeavor.

After this Spinola proceeded to take Wachendonk and Croceur, without being molested by Maurice, whose forces had been so reduced by sickness, and by needful dispersions to the garrisons of cities, that he was not strong enough to cope with the enemy.

Spinola visited Spain, and, returning by way of Genoa, he fell sick, probably more or less affected by the repudiation of his enormous acceptances for the army expenses; and he did not appear in Brussels again until the beginning of the Summer of 1606. He now devised a scheme for gaining control of the Waal and Yssel, capturing Utrecht, and thence invading Holland. But Maurice made such disposition of his forces, and the rain was so excessive all Summer, flooding the country, that Spinola was foiled in his projects, and he turned to laying siege to Grol. This place he captured after a short siege, and then passed on to Rheinberg. Maurice did not follow him up in these movements, being determined to risk nothing of his defenses of the approaches to Holland. Rheinberg surrendered after a six weeks' siege.

Soon after the troops of Spinola became mutinous for want of pay, and his army was much reduced. Maurice now put his army in motion, recaptured Lochen from the enemy, and laid siege to Grol. He was going on with this enterprise without any apprehension of interference by

Spinola, when this young general, with great exertion rallied his scattered and disappointed forces and suddenly made his appearance, with an army of eight thousand men, in the neighborhood of Grol. Maurice evaded the blow intended by collecting his forces, and taking an advantageous position at Sebel. Though he had the advantage of a much larger army and a well-chosen position, and his officers were looking for an order for a decisive attack upon the enemy, now weary with their march through a country which the constant rains had made an unbroken swamp, to the surprise of all, Maurice raised the siege and withdrew his army to Zelem. Spinola re-enforced the garrison at Grol, and took his departure for winter quarters. No explanation has been given of the motives of Maurice in refusing battle under such favorable circumstances, except that he preferred to do nothing which would at that time reduce his army, and expose Holland to invasion in case of defeat. He had not forgotten the insane panic which seized his cavalry at Mulheim. This was the end of the war for independence.

It would have been more for his glory as a great captain to have ended it with a decisive victory and the annihilation of Spinola's army. But that Providence to which he ascribed his victory at Nieuport withheld the inspiration, foreseeing that the sacrifice of life was no longer necessary.

The brave Admiral Haultain this year lost something of his prestige as a fighter. He was coasting with eleven ships along the western shores of Spain, seizing merchant-ships, and landing occasionally to burn a village. On the 6th of October a fleet appeared on the horizon, which he took to be merchantmen from West Indies, but which turned out to be a naval fleet of over thirty armed vessels. The wind was blowing a gale, and many of the Spanish galleons took refuge under the lea of the land. The larger part of the Dutch fleet were soon scattered by the gale, leaving only six vessels to engage eighteen of the enemy. On them Vice-admiral Klaassoon boldly led the attack. After a short fight his mainmast was shot away; but Admiral Haultain came to his rescue, and the enemy were beaten off. Again

they rallied; and now the admiral hauled off and escaped as the night came on, leaving the crippled ship to contend alone with the whole Spanish squadron. Repeatedly the Spanish admiral called upon Klaassoon to surrender, but he refused; and with colors flying on the stump of his mast, and with frequent broadsides, he kept up the unequal fight for two days and nights. His surviving officers and seamen agreed with him to blow up the ship; and they kneeled down on the bloody deck and prayed to the Almighty to take them, while the vice-admiral applied the torch to the magazine, and the ship was blown into the air. Two only of the sailors were rescued by the Spaniards, and they lived only long enough to relate the facts of the case.

The question of peace now came up in the counsels of the republic, and Barneveldt favored it; but Maurice was opposed to entertaining the question, for he could hope for no terms but such as had been rejected from the beginning of the war.

The expeditions of the English to the West Indies, and especially the colonization of Virginia

by Captain John Smith, awakened the spirit of emulation, and resulted in the organization of the West India Company. A charter was granted to it, but it did not go into immediate operation. Barneveldt was opposed to it, as likely to inflame the war spirit anew, and put off the question of peace. But he afterwards denied that he was hostile to it.

The archduke, during the Winter of the year 1607, sent commissioners to the stadholder, Barneveldt, and the states general, to negotiate for peace. They agreed, after long and tedious discussions and delays, that there should be an armistice of eight months from the 4th of May, during which commissioners should be appointed by the archduke and by the states general to confer for a peace or truce of ten, fifteen, or twenty years, with the express understanding that the united provinces of the republic should be treated with as free and independent countries. As it respected the sea, the armistice was limited. Hostilities were to cease in waters contiguous to the Netherlands, in the German Ocean

and the British Channel, and, after a certain period, along the Spanish coast.

A day of fasting, thanksgiving, and prayer was held on the 9th of May to implore the divine blessing upon these measures. The negotiations had been conducted so secretly that the outside world was surprised and astonished when the news of the treaty was made known. Henry IV sent an embassy to the Hague to see what it all meant. He cherished a fond conceit that somehow he might acquire the sovereignty of the Low Countries.

While these things were going on the hero of the Nova Zembla expedition, Jacob van Heemskerk, was making sad work with the Spanish fleet at Gibraltar. He had been commissioned by the states general to cruise in Spanish waters for the purpose of protecting the ships of the East India Company returning homeward, and to watch for the rich argosies of the Spanish, coming from America or elsewhere. His fleet consisted of twenty-six war-ships and four tenders. Arriving off Spain, he learned that the Spanish war fleet,

under Don Juan d'Avila, consisting of twenty-one ships, including ten great galleons, was at Gibraltar. On coming in sight of them, Heemskerk, arrayed in full armor, with the orange scarf on his head, addressed his officers, on the deck of his flag-ship, the *Aeolus*, as follows:

“It is difficult for Netherlanders not to conquer on salt water. Our fathers have gained many a victory in distant seas; but it is for us to tear from the enemy's list of titles his arrogant appellation of Monarch of the Ocean. Here, on the verge of two continents, Europe is watching our deeds, while the Moors of Africa are to learn for the first time in what estimation they are to hold the Batavian republic. Remember that you have no choice between triumph and destruction. I have led you into a position where escape is impossible; and I ask of none of you more than I am prepared to do myself—whither I am sure you will follow. The enemy's ships are far superior to ours in bulk; but remember that their excessive size makes them difficult to handle and easier to hit, while our own vessels are entirely within

control. Their decks are swarming with men; and thus there will be more certainty that our shots will take effect. Remember, too, that we are all sailors, accustomed from our cradles to the ocean; while yonder Spaniards are mainly soldiers and landsmen, qualmish at the smell of bilgewater, and sickening at the roll of the waves. This day begins a long list of naval victories, which will make our father-land forever illustrious or lay the foundation of an honorable peace, by placing, through our triumph, in the hands of the states general the power of dictating terms."

His orders were that two by two his vessels should engage each of the great galleons of the enemy, leaving the smaller craft for the last.

The captains returned to their ships, and reported to their crews; then all kneeled down on the decks and implored the help of the Almighty.

Avila saw the small Dutch ships coming down on the tide towards him with feelings of contempt; but very soon he had a change of mind, when the *Aeolus*, firing her forward guns as she approached, struck his vessel midships on one side,

and at the same time the *Tiger*, under Lanberk, in like manner attacked him on the other side. At the beginning of the firing both of the admirals were killed. A cannon-ball struck Heemskerk's thigh, and he fell to the deck, mortally wounded. He directed his lieutenant, Verhoef, to conceal his death from the other ships, and prophesied a glorious victory. They covered him with a cloak, and the fight went on. Very soon a similar scene was exhibited on the flag-ship of the enemy, the *St. Augustine*. The Dutch vice-admiral was assailed by two galleons at once; but he set on fire one of them, the *Lady of Vega*, and chased the other in a wrecked condition under the guns of the fort. Before sunset the entire fleet of the Spaniards was burnt or sunk or captured. After the savage fashion of those days, all the prisoners taken with ships were killed; those who threw themselves overboard were pursued in boats by the infuriate Dutchmen, and put to death. Had Heemskerk lived it would have been otherwise.

Chapter XIII.

HOW THE PEACE PROJECT WAS VIEWED IN SPAIN—THE KING HESITATES TO SIGN THE RATIFICATION—IT IS REJECTED—ANOTHER FORM IS DRAWN AND ACCEPTED—PEACE PROJECT DENOUNCED BY MAURICE AND HIS PARTY—SPANISH COMMISSIONERS MEET THE STATES GENERAL AT THE HAGUE—STORMY DEBATE AND REJECTION OF THE PEACE PROJECT, AND A TRUCE OF TWELVE YEARS AGREED TO—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF CLEVES AND OF PROFESSOR ARMINIUS—RIVAL CLAIMANTS FOR THE DUCHIES OF CLEVES, BERGH, AND ZULICH—BISHOP LEOPOLD GETS POSSESSION OF ZULICH—THE REPUBLIC AND FRANCE TAKE SIDES FOR THE ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG AND THE PALATINE OF NEWBERG—KING HENRY'S GRAND PROJECT—PRINCESS OF CONDÉ—INSURRECTION AT UTRECHT.

THE Spanish courtiers murmured at the archduke's negotiations for peace, regarding the independence of the Dutch republic as a disgrace to the crown; but the king knew not where to get money to carry on the war, and Spinola, having exhausted all his resources, declared to the king that a clear and honest ratification of the

treaty was the only thing to be done. The king hesitated to give his ratification of the treaty; but at last, on the 23d of July, Louis Verreykin arrived at the Hague with the expected document, and presented it to the stadholder and an assembly of fifty deputies of the states general. He was requested to withdraw while they examined the document. It was not satisfactory, in form or in substance. The king had not recognized the freedom and independence of the states. Maurice declared to the envoy that without this recognition the treaty would be null and void. Barneveldt informed him subsequently that the instrument was unanimously rejected by the states general, and that a new one must be procured, or the whole subject abandoned. Verreykin protested that this important clause must have been omitted by clerical error! It was sent back to Spain to be amended.

Meanwhile the popular sentiment was turning against the project of peace; and Maurice especially grew more hostile to it, while Barneveldt and the municipal councils insisted upon it.

Great indignation was expressed by the court at Madrid that the ratification was rejected. However, the king concluded to insert the recognition of the independence of the states; but he affixed a condition that the free public exercise of the Catholic religion should be allowed. But Spinola, writing from Brussels, protested against the folly of insisting on that condition prior to the adoption of the treaty by the states, inasmuch as it would give umbrage to all the Protestant states, and the desired toleration could be attained after the peace was established. The conclusion was that two ratifications should be drawn up, and if the one having the religious condition was rejected the other should be presented. The council of the archduke at once decided against this duplicity, and ordered that ratification to be presented to the states general which made no reference to the Catholic religion.

The states general, although not satisfied with the style of the document and minor matters, concluded to accept it and submit it to the approval of the estates of the several provinces.

These preliminaries being satisfactorily adjusted, notice was sent to the archduke, and he was invited to appoint seven or eight commissioners to come to the Hague to arrange for the peace.

Prince Maurice and Count Lewis William still opposed the negotiations, believing that the Spanish Government was incapable of honest dealing, and that a truce of twelve or fifteen years would give opportunity for regaining by intrigue what had been lost by war. However, when the duke's commissioners arrived near the Hague, the stadtholder went out to meet them, and escorted them to their places of entertainment. The people thronged out to greet the procession; and when Maurice embraced Spinola, and conducted him to his carriage, they rent the air with their shouts.

The states general received the commissioners at their palace on the 5th of February, 1608, and appointed two special commissioners and one representative from each of the seven provinces, with powers to negotiate with them.

At the opening session, the Dutch were offended by the document of the king giving full

powers to the envoys of the archduke, in which he styled Albert and Isabella hereditary sovereigns of the Netherlands.

“By what right are the archdukes called by the king hereditary sovereigns of the Netherlands, and why do they apply the seals of the seven provinces to this document?” said Barneveldt.

“By the same right,” replied Richardot, one of the commissioners, “that the king of France calls himself king of Navarre, that the king of Great Britain calls himself king of France, and the king of Spain calls himself king of Jerusalem.”

The straight-forward Dutchmen were not satisfied; and the commissioners wrote to the archduke about it. They directly received a reply to cancel those objectionable things; but for this concession the archdukes demanded that the states should abandon their commerce with the East and West Indies! This proposition was met with the scorn and indignation which it deserved. The ocean belonged to the whole human race, it was not a Spanish lake; and it was absurd and

insulting to ask the states to surrender their liberty on the high seas for any consideration whatever. "It is impossible, in this connection," says Motley, in a marginal note, "not to recall the quaint words of a great poet of our own country, J. R. Lowell, in the famous idyl written two or three centuries later than these transactions." It referred to our dispute with J. B.—John Bull—in respect to "free trade and sailors' rights:"

"We own the ocean, too, John.
You must not think it hard,
If we can't think with you, John,
It's just your own back yard.

Old Uncle S., says he, I guess,
If that's his game, says he,
The fencing stuff will cost enough
To bust up friend J. B.,
As well as you and me."

A great storm arose in the convention on this subject, and the session was brought to a sudden close by the withdrawal of the commissioners in dudgeon.

Friar Neyen, on behalf of the commissioners, went on to Spain to consult the king. After months of delay, the ultimatum of the king was that the states should be declared free, provided that the Catholic religion should be re-established and the East India trade abandoned. As a matter of course, this put an abrupt end to the negotiations.

Subsequently, through the mediation of the French and English ambassadors, who were present, the negotiations were resumed on the question of a truce in lieu of a peace. Maurice was more opposed to this project than to the other. He believed that a truce would allow Spain to recruit her strength, while the people of the republic, by the comforts and lucrative business which a long truce would occasion, might be demoralized, and refuse to reopen the war for their independence. Barneveldt, on the other hand, held that all the great objects of the republic could be secured by diplomacy, and he believed that a truce would answer their present purpose as well as peace, and eventuate in a peace on their own terms. An

angry controversy between these great patriots and their partisans shook the nation. Henry IV, in letters and by his ambassadors, urged the truce, and even threatened to withdraw his support if the war was renewed.

Maurice began to open his eyes to the inevitable, and in a friendly interview with Barneveldt he was conciliated; and by his influence the opposing states and towns were reconciled to the idea of a truce.

Under the lead of Barneveldt in the states general, on the 11th of January, 1609, it was unanimously resolved that the first point in the treaty should be “that the archdukes declare, as well in their own name as in that of the king of Spain, their willingness to treat with the lords states of the united provinces, in the capacity of, and as holding them for, free countries, provinces, and states, over which they have no claim; and that they are making a treaty with them in these said names and qualities.”

Finally, on the 9th of April, 1609, the treaty for a truce of twelve years was signed, with no

concession on any point by the states, except that a truce for twelve years was substituted for a peace.

Great was the rejoicing all over the Netherlands, and among all classes of the people, Catholic and Protestant. The war of forty years was over; and a grand republic had emerged from the abyss of war and revolution.

Besides the twelve years' truce and the end of the forty years' war, this year, 1609, was distinguished for religious peace in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, France, and Great Britain. The year previous Matthias had been made king of Hungary, and had signed a twenty years' truce with Ahmed, sultan of the Turks. The world was weary of war and contention.

The population of the new republic exceeded that of England at the time. It had a greater commerce, having three thousand ships and one hundred thousand sailors. The annual income of England was but seven hundred thousand pounds, while that of the republic was one million pounds sterling. Its army consisted of thirty

thousand foot and twenty-five hundred horse, and was the best paid of any army in the world, and the most highly disciplined. Its navy was the first in Europe for daring and success. A Dutch ship was often blown up by its crew, but almost never surrendered. The government was not democratic. The states general was the supreme authority, and was made up of delegates from the estates of the provinces, and from the municipal corporations. The stadholder was chief executive. His salary was one hundred and forty-five thousand florins—about seventy thousand dollars.

Two events happened this year, 1609, that were to have a decisive shaping of the history of the Netherlands and of Europe for the next generation—the death of the duke of Cleves, and the death of the great professor and theologian, James Arminius.

The duke of Cleves died without an heir to the government of the provinces of Cleves, Berg, and Zulich, which, bounded by the Netherlands, France, and Germany, became an object of contention by a swarm of princes, the chief of which

were Rudolph, emperor of Austria, on one side, and the elector of Brandenburg, John Sigismund, and Philip Lewis, count palatine of Nieuburg, on the other. These two princes agreed to a *condominium*, or joint possession of the territory, until the question could be adjudicated. They fixed their head-quarters at Dusseldorf. Soon after the cousin of the emperor, Bishop Archduke Leopold, in the disguise of a servant, and accompanied by five or six men, appeared at Zulich, and was warmly welcomed by the Catholic governor, Nestelrajd, and was thus installed as temporary governor of the provinces.

The republic and France united to defend the claims of the Protestant princes. Henry IV saw a grand opportunity opened to him to humble the house of Austria, to force Spain back to her own territory, and to make France the ascendant power of Christendom. The republic could not consent to have Spain or any Catholic power in sympathy with her acquire such close neighborhood to her. These two nations were now in perfect accord and agreement to withstand the encroachment of

the Catholic powers upon Protestant territory. The pope protested against Henry's designs of assisting heretic princes. What if they had birth-right to the disputed provinces! It was not for the eldest son of the Church to maintain it for them; it would be better for him to seize the duchies and annex them to France.

Richardot, the envoy to France from the Belgic provinces, asked Henry if he could not maintain neutrality. He answered, "No." "Then there will be a general war," was the reply. "Be it so," said Henry. He insisted that Leopold should abandon his usurpations and withdraw. To young Count Hohenzollern, ambassador of the emperor, who demanded a categorical statement of his intentions, he said, indignantly: "There is none but God to compel me to say more than I choose to say. It is enough for you to know that I will never abandon my friends in a just cause." The arrogant young ambassador complained to Sully, the prime minister of Henry, that it would be surrendering the duchies to Protestants. "Sir," said Sully, "do you look at the matter in that

way? The Huguenots are as good as Catholics. They fight, too, like the devil!"

The prudent minister, foreseeing the coming strife, had prepared immense resources for the maintenance of the armies that would be called into the field. He had kept it all a secret, even from Henry.

"I will engage," he said to Henry, one day, "to provide for forty thousand men."

"How much money have I got?" said the king; "a dozen millions?"

"More than that," said Sully.

"Fourteen millions?"

"More still."

And so the questions and answers went on, until the king asked if he had thirty millions, and was answered that forty millions were in the treasury! Henry was astonished, and in an ecstasy of joy sprang up and threw his arms about his minister's neck and kissed him on both cheeks.

The scheme of the war was that Henry should advance with thirty-five thousand troops to the duchies, and that Maurice should join him on the

Rhine with an army of fourteen thousand infantry and cavalry. The duke de la Force was to employ the army of the Pyrenees to excite a revolt of the Moors of Spain and to engage the army of Philip III; while the duke of Savoy was to join, with twelve thousand troops, the army under marshal de Lédisquieres, to drive the Spaniards out of Milan, with a view of conquering for Henry the ascendancy over Italy.

These grand preparations for war were brought to the verge of dissolution by the insane passion of Henry for Marguerite Montmorency, the wife of Conde, prince of the blood, to whom the old king had got her married, that he might have her near him in familiar relations. The prince became jealous of the king, and fled from the court to the protection of the duke and duchess at Brussels. To get her back to Paris by the aid of Albert and Isabella would tend to neutralize his hostility to these satellites of Spain and Rome, or at least divert his mind from the great project had in view. On so trivial causes do great destinies sometimes hang.

About this time happened the first insurrection of Utrecht. An ex-burgomaster, Dirk Kanter, on pretense of securing greater liberty of worship to the Catholics and reducing the taxes, sought to gain possession of the government for the purpose of withdrawing the city and finally the province of Utrecht from the republic. By a *coup d'etat* the city was revolutionized, and Kanter and one of his accomplices were made burgomasters. The states of Utrecht appealed to the states general to arrest these proceedings, and Maurice was dispatched with a sufficient force to take control of the city. But Maurice was persuaded that it was a political and popular movement which might be tolerated. Barneveldt and the states general were not satisfied with this treatment of the case, and summoned the malcontents to appear before them. But no concessions being made which would give satisfaction to them and to the province of Utrecht, Maurice was directed to proceed to subdue the city by force of arms. For the first time in his life he declined to obey orders, and feigned sickness. His young brother, Frederick Henry,

was then ordered to assume command of the besieging army. On his commencing formidable operations to besiege the city, the new government surrendered the place, and the revolution was counteracted without bloodshed.

The ambassador of the republic at the court of Henry, Aerssens, wrote to Barneveldt that the king was troubled by these events, and he feared that they might create "some new jealousy between Prince Maurice and yourself."

Within a year a fresh conspiracy was instigated by the rebel burgomasters to accomplish another revolution; but it was easily suppressed, and they were banished from the city.

It is of special significance that the party supported by the states general was Arminian. Four of the conspirators were condemned to death for taking an oath to kill two distinguished preachers of that denomination. They were, however, pardoned after they had ascended the scaffold.

Chapter XIV.

THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV—MAURICE LAYS SIEGE TO ZULICH, AND CAPTURES IT FOR THE PROTESTANT PRINCES—FINALLY THEIR JURISDICTION IS DIVIDED—VORSTIUS APPOINTED PROFESSOR OF LEYDEN—THEOLOGICAL STRIFE—ANTAGONISM OF MAURICE AND BARNEVELDT—REMONSTRANT AND COUNTER-REMONSTRANT—RELIGIOUS DISTURBANCES AT THE HAGUE—STATES OF HOLLAND OBJECT TO A NATIONAL SYNOD—STATES GENERAL DECREE IT.

THE archduke esteemed it dishonorable for him to surrender the princess of Conde, and he refused to do it. Several attempts to get her away by stratagem failed. The whole affair seemed now to have no influence to arrest or disturb the elaborate preparations for the war which was to humble Austria and to give the ascendancy to the Protestant nations in the political relations of Europe. Henry had received an embassy from the republic with extraordinary cordiality and distinguished honors; and it was

arranged that Henry should advance at the head of his northern army and make a junction with Prince Maurice on the Rhine.

It was proposed to have the queen crowned, and so authorized to reign during the minority of the dauphin, in case the king should be killed in the war. No preparations were made to meet the storm of war by the Catholic rulers, and every thing foreboded an easy victory for the Protestant allies. But a dark scheme was invented to make all this unnecessary by the taking off of the king of France; and the time of the queen's coronation was to be the occasion for the diabolical deed. Who was the author of this scheme is disputed; but suspicion rests upon the queen, Mary di Medici, and her paramour, Concini, and the duke of Epernon. Henry had a dark presentiment of the catastrophe. An astrologer had warned him to beware of the ides of May, and he had treated it lightly at the time; but still the idea haunted him. "Ah, my friend," he said to Sully, "how this sacrament displeases me! I know not why it is, but my heart tells me that

some misfortune is to befall me. I shall surely die in this city; I shall never go out of it. I see very well that they are finding their last resource in my death. Ah, accursed coronation! thou wilt be the cause of my death." It was fixed in his mind that he should die in a carriage.

The coronation was to take place on Sunday, the 16th of May; and on Monday he was to put himself at the head of his army. On Friday he drove out, in company with the duke of Epernon, to witness the preparations for the triumphal entrance of the queen. In a narrow street the coach was stopped by two carts, when Francis Ravaillac mounted the wheel nearest the king's seat, and, reaching over, struck a two-edged knife twice to his heart. The crazed fanatic, who had long contemplated this stroke, was seized and put to torture; but he died without betraying his accomplices. His two-edged knife had changed the course of history. The projects of Henry were ended with his life.

The defense of the Protestant claimants of the duchies now devolved upon the Dutch republic.

Two months after the death of Henry, Prince Maurice took command of the army, and marched at once upon Zulich and laid siege to it. In a fortnight it surrendered, and was put under the joint jurisdiction of the princes of Brandenburg and Nieuburg. Thus the young republic had the honor of resisting the usurpations of the emperor of Austria, and by so doing took a proud position among the leading nations of Europe.

This joint jurisdiction continued several years, but at length was broken up by dissensions on account of the Catholic tendencies and alliances of the prince of Nieuburg. The Brandenburgers, assisted by the states general, took possession of Zulich. In retaliation, Spinola marched from Brussels, and captured Aix-la-Chapelle. Then, entering the duchy of Cleves, he took Orsoy, Duren, Duisburg, Karter, Greenrenburg, and Berchen. Maurice, perceiving that he would aim at Wesel, offered the city a garrison. They declined it, considering their city as belonging to the empire; but Spinola paid no attention to that, and took possession of the place. On his part Mau-

rice, avoiding a battle with Spinola, took Emmerich, Rees, Goch, Kranenburg, Gennip, and several other towns. He then encamped near Rees, within a short distance from the encampment of Spinola.

Finally, a conference was held at Xantern, attended by ambassadors from Great Britain, France, the republic, the Belgic provinces, from the elector of Cologne, from Brandenburg, Nieuburg, and the elector palatine. The conclusion was to divide the territory between Brandenburg and Nieuburg. But the king of Spain refused to ratify the treaty; and therefore the troops of Maurice and Spinola continued in the territory, and thus affairs stood until the thirty years' war between Catholic and Protestant powers, after rivers of blood had been shed, made a final settlement of the political geography of Europe.

Another kind of war was now to be kindled in the heart of the republic—a war of religious sects. Conrad Vorstius was chosen to fill the vacancy in the University of Leyden made by the death of the illustrious Arminius. He was

instantly assailed by a storm of opposition from the ultra Calvinist sect of Gomarus, who charged him, not only with Arminianism, but with Socinianism, Pelagianism, and even atheism. This tumult was swelled by the rabid protest of the king of England, who was, in his own opinion, the greatest theologian of the age, and competent to dictate to the states of Holland what kind of theology should be taught in the university. Barneveldt indignantly, but in courteous terms, repudiated the interference of James in matters that did not concern his own kingdom, and he showed how preposterous it was for him to set himself so fanatically on the side of the Calvinists in Holland, while he was persecuting their brethren in England, and threatening to "harrow them out of the land" if they did not conform to the Church established by law.

The professor, however, was required to defend himself against the charges made against him. He delivered an able and elaborate argument before the Assembly of Holland, lasting four hours; and he was directed to put it in writing in Latin

and in the Dutch language. He was allowed a year and a half in which to prepare a full refutation of all the charges against him; and in the mean time he was to withdraw from Leyden. In dictating this course, the principle was recognized that the decision of religious questions was with the government of the province, as distinguished from the states general of the republic, and as superior to the ecclesiastical powers.

This was the point about which the parties ranged themselves. Maurice contended for the supremacy of the states general, and he came into warmer antagonism against Barneveldt than ever before. The English ambassador, Winwood, inflamed this animosity to the utmost of his ability. He offered to Maurice, in the name of the king, the Order of the Garter, as a compliment to his military talents and his sound theologico-political sentiments. Maurice expressed thanks for the honor, but said he could not accept it without the approbation of these states. In their conversations the suspicion was expressed that Barneveldt was seeking to alienate the provinces from

the English alliance, and to bring about their restoration to Spain. A more unjust suspicion could not be imagined; and yet it took with many, and was made by the adverse party a ground of complaint against the patriotic statesman, and finally led to the most tragic results. It was cherished by Maurice, as he found Barneveldt, for state reasons, showed no want of sympathy with the French Government, which was drifting under the domination of Spain; while several of the malcontent princes of France were related to Maurice by blood or marriage. One of his brothers married the sister of Conde, and his own sister was the wife of Marshal Bouillon, both of whom were afterwards in revolt against Louis XIII.

On the theological question Maurice was at first ranked with the Arminians. He had the famous preacher, John Wytenbogaert, for his chaplain; but he had not studied the difference between the sects. When he found the whole country shaking with the agitation of the question he wished to be neutral. He remarked: "I am a

soldier, not a divine. There are matters of theology which I do n't understand, and about which I do n't trouble myself." Again he said, "I know nothing of predestination, whether it is green or whether it is blue." But when the question took a political turn, and the Arminians, with Barneveldt, held that the direction of religion was with the individual states and not with the states general, his proclivities placed him with the opposite party.

The practical question was whether the states general should call a synod to frame a creed for the whole country, and to settle once for all the controversy on predestination.

The theological parties were called Remonstrants and Counter-remonstrants. The Remonstrants held to the views of Arminius, which were succinctly drawn up in five points in their remonstrance to the states of Holland against the charge of seeking to promote schism.

These famous five points were:

"I. God has from eternity resolved to choose to eternal life those who through his grace believe

in Jesus Christ, and in faith and obedience so continue to the end, and to condemn those who continue unbelieving and unconverted to eternal damnation.

“II. Christ died for all; so, nevertheless, that no one actually except believers is redeemed by his death.

“III. Man has not the saving belief from himself, nor out of his free will, but he needs thereto God’s grace in Christ.

“IV. This grace is the beginning, continuation, and completion of man’s salvation; all good deeds must be ascribed to it, but it does not work irresistibly.

“V. God’s grace gives sufficient strength to the true believers to overcome evil; but whether they can not lose grace should be more closely examined before it should be taught in full security.”

Afterwards they expressed themselves more distinctly on this point, and declared that a true believer, through his own fault, can fall away from God, and lose faith.

The Counter-remonstrants held to the following seven points:

“I. God has chosen from eternity certain persons out of the human race, which in and with Adam fell into sin, and has no more power to believe and convert itself than a dead man to restore himself to life, in order to make them blessed through Christ; while he passes by the rest through his righteous judgment, and leaves them lying in their sins.

“II. Children of believing parents, as well as full-grown believers, are to be considered as elect so long as they with action do not prove the contrary.

“III. God in his election has not looked at the belief and the repentance of the elect; but on the contrary, in his eternal and unchangeable design, has resolved to give to the elect faith and steadfastness, and thus to make them blessed.

“IV. He, to this end, in the first place, presented to them his only-begotten Son, whose sufferings, although sufficient for the expiation of all men’s sins, nevertheless, according to

God's decree, serve alone to the reconciliation of the elect.

“V. God caused the Gospel to be preached to them, making the same, through the Holy Ghost, of strength upon their minds; so that they not merely obtain power to repent and to believe, but also actually and voluntarily do repent and believe.

“VI. Such elect, through the same power of the Holy Ghost, through which they have once become repentant and believing, are kept in such wise that they indeed, through weakness, fall into sins; but can never wholly, and for always, lose the true faith.

“VII. True believers from this, however, draw no reason for fleshly quiet, it being impossible that they who through a true faith were planted in Christ should bring forth no fruits of thankfulness; the promise of God's help and the warnings of Scripture tending to make their salvation work in them fear and trembling, and to cause them more earnestly to desire help from that Spirit without which they can do nothing.”

The popular controversies on these topics assumed an angry and dangerous aspect. There were often tumults about the doors of churches on the Sabbath, which came to blows and bloodshed. And now the cry of the parties was Orange or Spain! in the vernacular, *Oranje* or *Spanje*! Henry Roseus, a Calvinist preacher at the Hague, had drawn off his followers to a separate place of worship in the village of Ryswyk; but they were not contented to be excluded from the city, and they obtained a barn at first, but the authorities drove them from this, when the secretary of Prince Maurice offered them the use of his house. But this proved to be inconvenient, and they demanded the use of a church. Maurice thought they ought to have this privilege. He so stated to Wytenbogaert, the pastor of the Great Church. "But this is open schism," he replied. Maurice judged that the Reformed religion, which he, as stadholder, had sworn to maintain, was the Calvinistic religion, and that the Arminians were the schismatics.

"You hold, then," said Barneveldt to him,

"that the Almighty has created one child for damnation and another for salvation, and you wish that doctrine to be publicly preached."

"Did you ever hear any one preach that?" said Maurice.

"If they do n't preach it, it is their inmost conviction," said Barneveldt.

"But does not God know from all eternity," argued Maurice, "who is to be saved and who is to be damned? and does he create men for any other end than that to which he from eternity knows they will come?"

Barneveldt, like many others, was silenced, but not convinced, by this metaphysical mystery of divine foreknowledge. Finally he said:

"I am no theologian."

"Neither am I," replied the prince; "so let the parsons come together. Let the synod assemble and decide the question. Thus we shall get out of all this."

Had Barneveldt studied the doctrine of the Arminians more attentively he would have made no objection to predestination, as stated by Mau-

rice. Of course God, knowing how men will freely choose their course of life, and consequently their destiny, determines to create them, and so predestinates their end as they have chosen it. But this is very different from the belief that God has foreordained the choice of adult men; and, as to infants, determined from all eternity that a portion of them shall be damned, without reference to any choice of theirs. Such was the opinion of Calvin.

As it regarded the synod's settling the question, Barneveldt was aware that a synod authorized by the states general to settle this question would take from the separate states the power to settle it for themselves; if left to the province of Holland to decide the question, it would decide it as he himself believed; but if the states general settled it, it would impose on him a creed which he disbelieved.

Could we reverse the course of time and go back two centuries, we could advise them to let the people decide for themselves the question of religion, without the interference of the general

government or the government of the individual states. But a state Church was the idea of that age; and Maurice thought it would be better to have for the republic one national Church and uniform creed, while Barneveldt was, as we should express it in our country, a “state’s-rights man,” and insisted that religion was one of those things which each state should decide for itself. They were both wrong; but Maurice was more wrong than Barneveldt, when we consider that the liberty of a state to decide as a majority of its people would wish is better than to have a creed imposed upon them by the authority of a general government.

Maurice did not care much for the intrinsic difference between the Calvinistic and the Arminian creed; but he believed that if a distinction must be insisted upon, then, as the Church of the Hague had done in rejecting the Calvinist preachers and refusing them the privilege of a separate place of worship in that city, that he must take sides against the Arminians, for their doctrine was not thought of when his father and com-

patriots laid the foundation of the republic. In an assembly of the leading men of Holland, to which the stadholder was invited, Barneveldt and Grotius laid the blame on the Calvinists for refusing to commune with the Arminians, and argued that it was without reason, for there was nothing in the Five Points inconsistent with "salvation nor with the constitution of the united provinces." But Maurice was irritated. "No need here of flowery orations and learned arguments! With this good sword," said he, striking his rapier, "I will defend the religion which my father planted in these provinces, and I should like to see any man who is going to prevent me!" This was rather ominous of a *coup d'etat*.

An old convent on the Voorhout Avenue, long used as a cannon-foundry, was taken possession of by the Counter-remonstrants, fitted up for a place of worship, and called the Cloister Church. The stadholder favored the enterprise; but he continued to hear Wytenbogaert, at the Great Church, until the 16th of July of that year, 1617, when he was deeply offended by a sermon against

the appointment of a national synod to decree a religion and Church for all the people in all the states. The very next Sabbath, accompanied by Count William Lewis, by his staff, and by all the chief officers of his household, he went to the Cloister Church, drawing in with him such a crowd of the citizens as to leave the Great Church nearly empty.

The advocate of Holland, Barneveldt, saw the cavalcade passing by his house, and he felt that the gauntlet was thrown down to him, and that henceforth there was to be a desperate conflict between them.

He immediately took measures to call an assembly of the states of Holland, to consider the peril which threatened their rights. It met on the 4th of August, 1617, and passed what was afterwards called the "Sharp Resolve," that the states of Holland were sovereign, and that a national synod to settle religion was a usurpation. Furthermore they authorized the regents of the cities of Holland to enroll men-at-arms, for the protection of their rights and the public peace.

On receiving notification of the passage of this law, the stadholder appeared before the assembly to demand an explanation of it. Barneveldt explained the policy which had been adopted; and when he was violently assaulted by a member from Amsterdam, one of the five cities where the Counter-remonstrants were in the majority, Maurice interfered to quell the tumultuous altercation which ensued. He declared that his oath as stadholder obliged him to defend the Reformed religion; but that he would sustain the magistrates so long as nothing was attempted for the subversion of that religion.

At a meeting of the states general he took the ground that the states of Holland had taken a wrong position, and that they should be required to rescind the "Sharp Resolution." Barneveldt denied the power of the states general to dictate the internal policy of the several sovereign states. Meantime the military arrangements were adopted in the principal towns, while Maurice quietly took possession, with garrisons of the troops under his command, of the most important seaboard cities.

At length, on the 11th of November, the states general passed a resolution, by a majority of one vote, that the national synod should be held some time in the following year. Thus the "Union of Utrecht," which hitherto had been the constitution of the republic, and which reserved the subject of religion to the separate provinces, was rudely violated in the most important article. The vital principle also of the republic, that it was not an incorporation, but a confederation of sovereign states, was completely subverted. In the abstract, we should say that a nation, and not a cluster of sovereign states, was the better constitution; yet not, if the nation was to assume power to dictate the religion of the people in the way proposed, by calling an assembly of the sectaries, and enforcing the creed devised by them as the creed of the nation.

Chapter XV.

RELIGIOUS RIOTS—MAURICE REVOLUTIONIZES THE GOVERNMENT OF ALL THE PROVINCES BUT TWO—BARNEVELDT APPEALS TO HOLLAND TO PROTECT HIM FROM LIBELOUS PAMPHLETS—HE WRITES IN VAIN TO MAURICE ON THE SUBJECT—MAURICE IS TRIUMPHANTLY WELCOMED TO AMSTERDAM—DEPUTATION FROM UTRECHT TO MAURICE—MAURICE AND STATE DEPUTIES AT UTRECHT—HE DISBANDS THE WAARTGELDERS—THE STATES GENERAL DECREE THEIR DISBANDMENT EVERYWHERE—BARNEVELDT, GROTIUS, AND HOOGERBEETS ARE ARRESTED AND IMPRISONED—THE CONFEDERACY IS CONVERTED INTO A NATION—REFERENCE TO REV. JOHN ROBINSON AND THE PLYMOUTH PILGRIMS.

THE seizure of the Cloister Church at the Hague was the key-note to great disasters in the future. The city of Amsterdam had taken ground against the Arminians, and excluded them from communion. The mob took license from this to attack the house of Pern Bischop, brother of Episcopius, Arminian professor at Leyden. The housekeeper fled out of the back door to the

nearest neighbor, and was pursued with cries of "Kill the Arminian harlot! strike her dead." The poor woman was so frightened that she fell insensible, as soon as she reached the house. The mob then turned and broke into the mansion of Bischop, seeking for him, but he had escaped by the roof to an adjoining building. They sacked the house from garret to cellar, leaving nothing of value. One of the mob, a carpenter by trade, was asked what motive he had for such base conduct. He replied, "Are we to suffer such folks here, who teach the vile doctrine that God has created one man for damnation and another for salvation?"—just the opposite doctrine of the Arminians. So senseless and crazy is religious bigotry.

The mob spirit was intensified by the scandal that Barneveldt, Wytenbogaert, and other leading Arminians were bribed by Spanish gold. Even Maurice gave heed to it.

"It is plain," he said, "that Barneveldt and his party are on the road to Spain."

"Then it were well," it was replied, "to have proof of it."

"Not time yet," he rejoined. "We must flatten out a few of them first."

He concluded that arms must be resorted to, to end the anarchy which was spreading over the land.

As Barneveldt had already prevailed upon the states of Holland to organize local militia, called Waartgelders, in the important towns of that province, for protection against the usurpations of the states general in the matter of religion, Maurice, in addition to his control of the great seaports, now proceeded to revolutionize the governments of the provinces outside of Holland and Zealand. He first entered Nymegen with his life-guards and other troops, and summoned the magistrates to the town-house, and dismissed them from their offices, and afterwards appointed others of the Counter-remonstrant party in their stead. He next proceeded to Arnheim, and found the authorities very submissive. The same success attended his *coup d'etat* in the province of Overyssel. "I will grind the advocate," he said, "and all his party into fine meal." He was at this time caricatured by a picture representing him as

casting his sword into a scale with the Institutes of Calvin, to weigh down the rolls of parchment and other insignia of the rights and duties of civic government. "The advocate," he said, justifying his usurpations, "is traveling straight to Spain. But we will see who has the longest purse."

Barneveldt was made the butt of every species of lampooning by the vilest and most unscrupulous pamphleteers. He was charged with every shade of crime in public and private life; and particularly with accepting a hundred and twenty thousand ducats from Spain to bring about the twelve years' truce, and scheming to take the life of the stadholder. The aged statesman at last appealed to the states of Holland for protection; and heavy penalties were enacted, but without effect, against the authors and printers of these libels. He wrote an earnest and pathetic letter to Maurice on the subject of his grievances, and sent it by the hands of his son-in-law, Cornelius van der Myle. But he made no reply to it except calling Cornelius to the window one day, as he was passing by, and saying that the premises

of his father-in-law's letter were not true, and his conclusions were unsound; and he related the story of an old man who had invented many things in his early days, and went on repeating them until he believed them himself. This anecdote was often bandied about by his political and religious enemies; but it reflects more disgrace upon Maurice than his aged antagonist. It illustrates the rancor of the controversy going on, and forebodes evil in the future.

The popular feeling, however, was with Maurice. He made a visit at this time to Amsterdam, and was welcomed with enthusiasm. A fleet of yachts came out to meet him as he crossed the Zuiderzee, and escorted him to the city, where every ship and every house blazed with the Orange colors, and the roar of cannon mingled with the most delicious of national airs. On the great square he was received by the burgomasters, arrayed in their magisterial robes, and addressed in a long and flowery oration by the chief magistrate, who presented him a large orange of solid gold, in token of his lately inheriting the princi-

pality of Orange by the demise of his elder brother, Philip William. These ceremonies were followed by allegorical processions and displays, in which the Dutch genius excelled.

The city of Utrecht had enlisted regiments of Waartgelders, for maintaining peace and resisting the usurpations of the states general, which they had refused to disband when requested by the states general. But now, foreseeing civil war, a party was formed in favor of a compromise, and sent a committee to the Hague to confer with the stadtholder on the subject. They were met by Grotius and others, who persuaded them not to see Maurice at all, and to maintain their defensive position at Utrecht.

The states of Holland now proposed that the Waartgelders should be disbanded in their cities, provided that the stadtholder should put native troops in the garrisons, instead of foreign mercenaries; but the proposition was not accepted. At length the states general sent Maurice at the head of a commission to Utrecht on this subject; and at the same time the states of Holland sent Grotius with

a committee to confer secretly with the magistrates of Utrecht. They were introduced to the assembly by the secretary, Gillis van Ledenberg. In this interview Grotius warned them of the probable design of the stadholder to use violence, and he regretted the disposition which was manifested to disband the Waartgelders. Maurice also had communications with the magistrates, and demanded their disbandment. He also met with the commissioners of Holland, and insisted that the Waartgelders should everywhere be discarded, and the provinces submit to the decrees of the states general in respect to the synod.

"Every thing is the fault," he said, "of the advocate."

"If Barneveldt were dead," Grotius replied, "all the rest of us would feel bound to maintain the laws. People seem to despise Holland, and to wish to subject it to the other provinces."

"On the contrary," said Maurice, "it is the advocate who wishes to make Holland the states general."

His resolution was now formed.

During the night of the 13th of July, 1618, above one thousand troops quietly took possession of the great market square, the Neude, and planted cannon at the entrance of all the streets. At dawn of day the stadholder appeared, with his staff, and took command. He rode directly to a company of the Waartgelders in the neighborhood, and ordered them to lay down their arms. They obeyed at once. All along, these troops, as well as their commander, Sir John Ogle, had determined not to resist the stadholder, acting for the states general. He sent orders to all the other companies to appear at the Neude. They did so, and quietly laid down their arms. The civil war was at an end.

The next thing was to reform the government. The forty magistrates were ordered to nominate forty men, and Maurice nominated twenty more. Out of the hundred he selected a new board of forty men, the majority of whom he could trust as loyal to the states general. These he declared were chosen for life.

Three weeks after the states general passed a

decree disbanding the Waartgelders throughout all the provinces. The synod was also decreed. The confederacy was now at an end; the republic was converted into a nation.

Barneveldt made another effort to adjust matters by proposing, through Count Lewis, stadtholder of Friesland, to have a personal interview with Prince Maurice. It was granted, and they met at the apartments of the prince. The advocate argued that the employment of Waartgelders by the city of Utrecht, which had been taken by the prince as an invasion of his rights as the captain-general of the republic, was in accordance with the usages and vested rights of a sovereign province; and as it regarded the national synod, to regulate religion for the provinces was subversive of the principles of the confederacy, and was furthermore giving the Church the ascendancy over the state, which in respect to Rome they had so long contended against. But the prince was not satisfied; and especially declared with emphasis that the “synod was a settled matter.” They parted without any change in the position of either.

No doubt that the advocate truly represented the state's rights theory, which had been acted upon since the war for independence began; but it was nothing but the cementing power of a common danger which made an army united and effective which was made up of troops from the several provinces, owing obedience to the respective states, and bound by oath to render that obedience. He never imagined it was a crime to insist on his view of the case; but others believed that his conduct and that of his compatriots was not only wrong, but treasonable.

On the 28th of August, 1618, his friend, Cornelius Berkhaut, awoke him to a discovery of his danger by giving him a rumor that it was the intention of the states general to arrest him for trial. The next day, on his way to the assembly of the states of Holland, he was informed that the stadholder wished to see him; but before he reached his rooms he was met by Lieutenant Nythop, of the prince's body-guard, who informed him that he was ordered to arrest him in the name of the states general. Astonished, but not

dismayed, he demanded to see Prince Maurice; but the officer refused this privilege, and placed him in confinement. Hugo Grotius and Pensionary Hoogerbeets were separately arrested in a precisely similar manner, and confined in rooms apart, each without any knowledge of what had happened to the others.

The arrest of these statesmen was made by the order of eight members of the states general; but this illegal proceeding was indorsed by the states general at their regular session on the next day. The members from Holland protested against this usurpation, and made a report at once to the states of Holland, assembled in the same building. Presently a committee of five from the states general appeared in the assembly, and justified the proceeding. A great debate followed. The majority resolved to send a committee to the stadtholder to remonstrate against this high-handed measure; but the minority, consisting of the deputies of the six cities under the influence of the Counter-remonstrants, sent a committee to approve of the measure.

Maurice replied that “what had happened was not by his order, but had been done by the states general, who must be supposed not to have acted without just cause. Touching the laws and jurisdiction of Holland, he would not himself dispute; but the states of Holland would know how to settle that matter with the states general.”

Soon after, the stadholder went on with his revolutionary operations in the towns of the provinces, summoning the magistrates into his presence, dismissing them from their office in a summary manner, and appointing others in their stead. At Amsterdam a venerable magistrate, ex-Burgomaster Hooft, seventy-two years of age, shocked at these usurpations, rose up and protested against them as illegal and unnecessary. Maurice replied to him: “Grandpapa, it must be so this time. Necessity, and the service of the country, require it.”

It seems that the whole country had been revolutionized in their views of constitutional law. Even the states of Holland passed a vote thanking the stadholder for turning the constitution of

the confederacy out of doors! The states general and the states provincial were all agreed to form an incorporated nation, governed by the states general—a better constitution, to be sure; but it is sad to know that it was fanatically adopted for the purposes of ecclesiastical despotism. Calvinism now was to be forced upon the people for their religious faith, as Romanism was before the war of independence.

Two years after this, Rev. John Robinson kneeled on the deck of the vessel which was to bear from Delftshaven one-half of his refugee Puritan congregation to the wilderness of America, and prayed that the God of heaven would guide them safely across the deep, to found a state where they could be free from the spiritual despotism of England. In his parting address he had spoken these words, which are now immortal:

“If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded that the Lord has more

truth yet to teach forth out of his holy Word. For my part, I can not sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed Churches, who are come to a period in religion."

Chapter XVI.

LEDENBERG'S IMPRISONMENT AND SUICIDE—THE SYNOD OF DORT—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF BARNEVELDT—GROTIUS IS CONDEMNED TO PERPETUAL IMPRISONMENT—HIS ESCAPE—THE SIEGE OF BERGEN-OP-ZOOM—CONSPIRACY OF BARNEVELDT'S SONS TO ASSASSINATE MAURICE—THE SIEGE OF BREDA—MAURICE IS TAKEN ILL—HIS DEATH—THE ACCESSION OF FREDERICK HENRY—HIS DESCENDANTS.

A FEW weeks after the arrest of Barneveldt, Ledenberg, the secretary of Utrecht, was arrested and put in prison. On the 27th of September he was examined; but he revealed nothing of a treasonable nature, and he received hints that they meant to extort further confessions from him by torture. He wrote in French a paper, and committed it to his son, Ivost. That night, hearing him groan, the young man crept to his bedside in the dark, and found that he was cold in death. The paper, when translated, explained

it: "I know there is an inclination to set an example in my person, to confront me with my best friends, to torture me; afterwards to convict me of contradiction and falsehood, as they say, and then to find an ignominious sentence upon points and trifles; for thus it will be necessary to do in order to justify the arrest and imprisonment. To escape all this, I am going to God by the shortest road. Against a dead man there can be pronounced no sentence of confiscation of property. Done 17th September [O. S.], 1618."

He proved mistaken about the confiscation; for the devilish cunning of his persecutors, months after his interment, took his body from the grave and hung it in chains to evade the law.

The French ambassadors, Boississe and Maurice, came before the states general once and again to urge, in the name of their sovereign, that the imprisoned statesmen should have a fair trial, and be kindly and honorably dealt with. The influence of the British Government was against them. That theological pedant, James I, was contradicting himself by persecuting the Cal-

vinists in his own country, and countenancing their oppressive measures in the Dutch republic, while he had acknowledged there was nothing contrary to salvation in “the five points” of their victims.

On pretense of seeking evidence, the trial of Barneveldt was delayed more than six months; but the real reason was to give the national synod, assembled at Dort, time to complete their deliberations.

The synod held its first meeting on the 13th of November, 1618, in a building commonly used for military purposes. The number of ecclesiastical delegates for the provinces was thirty-eight ministers, twenty elders, and five professors of theology; besides, there were eighteen lay delegates from the states general, and twenty-eight delegates from foreign Churches. To these were added, at the twenty-second session, thirteen ministers of the Remonstrant party, selected by the synod. The president was John Bogerman. The meeting was public, and attended by throngs of spectators, men and women. Before the Remonstrants appeared the synod was occupied in dis-

cussing various questions not relevant to the great object of the synod. Simon Episcopius, the leader of the Remonstrants, on his arrival, addressed the synod in Latin, in an eloquent and pathetic oration, explaining the causes of the dissensions in the Church. The president rebuked him for speaking before receiving permission of the assembly. An oath was administered to the members to be governed by the Word of God in judging of the five disputed articles, and to advance nothing but what was conducive to the honor of the Church, purity of doctrine, and the glory of God.

On the twenty-fourth session, and subsequently, the Remonstrants delivered their opinions on the five articles. They were then required to express their views on the Heidelberg Catechism and the Netherland Confession of Faith. Before discussing the five articles the synod requested that the Remonstrants should be silent on the subject of reprobation when the synod judged sufficient had been said! To this presumptuous requirement the Remonstrants objected, and also to confining

themselves to colloquial answers to questions proposed to them. After several warm disputes, the matter was referred to the states general, who commanded the Remonstrants to answer all questions proposed to them, or be judged by their writings and by statements at other times and places. They were also commanded not to leave Dort without permission of the political delegates. With the states general, the whole assembly, and the populace of the city against them, Episcopius and his brethren boldly defended their position. After eleven sessions had been consumed in desultory discussions, the Remonstrants presented a written exposition of the first of the five articles, and finally declared that they would not consent to discuss in any manner different from what they had already done. Thereupon the president, in great wrath, protested that they were not worthy to hold conference with the venerable assembly, and concluded by saying, "You are dismissed; go out." This expulsion, which was done by a minority of the synod, was approved by the states general. The synod then took up the five arti-

cles, *seriatim*. On the second article a violent altercation took place between Matthew Martinius, delegate from Bremen, and Gomarius, as to whether the Father or the Son was the original cause of salvation. The bishop of Landaff interposed to allay the excitement, and was insulted by Gomarius. The British minister, Carleton, wrote to the president, protesting against such conduct; and the other foreign members were displeased with the manner in which the Remonstrants had been treated.

Finally the Remonstrants were permitted to present written expositions of their opinions, which they did at great length. The discussion of these documents employed the synod until the one hundred and second session, when a committee was appointed to draw up the canons expressive of the judgment of the synod. These canons consisted of a condemnation of the five articles and an exposition of the orthodox faith:*

“God has ordained by an eternal and immutable decree, before the creation of the world,

* Acta Synod: pa. 1; pp. 241, 251, 256, 265.

upon whom he will bestow the free gift of his grace; that the atonement of Christ, though sufficient for all the world, is efficient only for the elect; that conversion is not effected by any effort of man, but by the grace of God, given to all those only whom he has chosen from all eternity; and that it is impossible to fall away from this grace."

The Heidelberg Catechism and the Netherland Confession of Faith were approved and ratified.

Then they proceeded to pronounce sentence of condemnation upon Professor Vorstius, who was declared unfit to serve as a minister of the Reformed Church, and his doctrine was pronounced impious and blasphemous. He was banished from the united provinces, not to return again on pain of death.

After the departure of the foreign members the delegation from the republic decreed that those ministers of the Churches who held the Arminian faith should be deprived of their office, and that henceforth all candidates for the ministry and for the office of teacher in the schools

should subscribe to the Heidelberg Catechism, the Netherland Confession of Faith, and the canons of the Synod of Dort.

Let us return now to the imprisoned statesmen.

Barneveldt, during nearly seven long months, was left without any information as to when his trial would begin, or what would be the charges against him—a procedure contrary to law and usage. The extemporized tribunal before which he was called was made up of twenty-four commissioners, twelve from Holland, and two from each of the other provinces. It was no better than an inquisition. There was no indictment, no counsel, no witnesses. He was there to answer to any questions that might be put to him in respect to the whole of his long public life. He was not allowed the use of his books and papers to refresh his memory, and even pen and paper were forbidden him. For three long months he was compelled from day to day to appear and answer the heterogeneous interrogatories of his judges. The chief complaint against him was that he had denied the right of the states general

to dictate the religion of the several provinces. This he defended from the thirteenth article of the union, which meant that and nothing less. The absurd charge that he was playing into the hands of the king of Spain he repelled with the utmost indignation.

The proceedings were kept a profound secret, and no one could more than guess at the result. It was ominous of evil to the prisoners that the announcement of the verdict was preceded by a proclamation of a day of fasting, which stated that "Church and state, during several years having been fraught with great danger of utter destruction through certain persons in furtherance of their ambitious designs, had been saved by the convocation of a national synod," etc.

The French ambassador, du Maurier, got access to the states general, and in the presence of Prince Maurice made an earnest appeal for lenity in the name of his sovereign. Count William called to his aid Fiscal Duyck, and went with him to Prince Maurice to intercede for Barneveldt. The three agreed that Count William

should, as if on his own account, go to the widow of William the Silent, the Princess-dowager Louise, and ask her to interest herself to get the family of the advocate to solicit his pardon. But, upon her interposition, they declared unanimously that, as to asking pardon, “they would not move one step in it—no, not even if it cost him his life.”

At length the sentence was prepared; and it was, after a long and elaborate preamble, that “the judges, in the name of the states general, condemn the prisoner to be taken to the binn-schof, there to be executed with the sword, that death may follow; and they declare all his property confiscated.” This sentence was not to be read to the prisoner until all was ready for his immediate execution.

On Sunday, the 12th of May, 1619, three gentlemen appeared in his prison, and officially announced to him that the next morning he would be summoned to receive his sentence of death. “Sentence of death!” he exclaimed, thrice; “I did not expect that.” He then asked for pen,

ink, and paper, to write farewell to his wife. It was granted, and he thus wrote:

“Very dearly beloved wife, children, sons-in-law, and grandchildren,—I greet you altogether most affectionately.

“I receive at this moment the very heavy and sorrowful tidings that I, an old man, for all my services done well and faithfully to the fatherland for so many years (after having performed all respectful and friendly offices to his excellency, the prince, with upright affection, so far as my official duty and vocation would permit, shown friendship to many people of all sorts, and willingly injured no man), must prepare myself to die to-morrow.

“I console myself in God the Lord, who knows all hearts, and who will judge all men. I beg you all together to do the same. I have steadily and faithfully served my lords the states of Holland and their nobles and cities. To the states of Utrecht, as sovereigns of my own fatherland, I have imparted, at their request, upright

and faithful counsel, in order to save them from tumults of the populace, and from the bloodshed with which they had so long been threatened. I had the same views for the cities of Holland, in order that every one might be protected, and no one injured.

“Live together in love and peace. Pray for me to Almighty God, who will graciously hold us all in his holy keeping.

“From my chamber of sorrow, the 12th of May, 1619.

“Your very dear husband, father, father-in-law, and grandfather,

“JOHN OF BARNEVELDT.”

This letter briefly indicates the chief points of complaint against him, and his refutation of them. It breathes the spirit of the Christian in every line.

Soon after, his supper was brought in, and, inviting the clergyman, Walaeus, who was sent to console him, and the marshal to partake with him, he pledged each of them in a glass of beer.

After supper he asked Walaeus to go with a

message to Prince Maurice. "Tell his excellency that I have always served him with upright affection, so far as my office, duties, and principles permitted. If I, in the discharge of my oath and official functions, have done any thing contrary to his views, I hope that he will forgive it; and that he will hold my children in his gracious favor."

Maurice was deeply affected by this communication. He said that he had always felt a deep affection for Barneveldt, though he had wronged him by accusing him of aspiring to sovereignty, and put his life in danger by the militia at Utrecht. He forgave it all, and would not cease to favor his sons if they behaved well.

He asked, as Walaeus was leaving, if Barneveldt said "any thing of pardon."

"My Lord," was the reply, "I can not with truth say that I understood him to make any allusion to it."

When the conversation was reported to the advocate, he admitted his fears that Maurice had aspired to sovereignty, but he had never expressed them to his injury.

Two other clergymen came in the evening, and they conversed on religious and political topics until a late hour, when, after requesting one of them to pray, he dismissed them, with the request that they would return at three or four o'clock in the morning.

On retiring to his bed he tried in vain to sleep, and the night was passed away in a variety of conversations with his faithful valet, the guards, and a clergyman, who was called in by one of the soldiers to read to him the Prayer-book. At five o'clock the bell was heard below for the assembling of the judges; and the prisoner left his bed, and prepared himself for the sacrifice to be made of him.

At the court-room the long sentence was read to him, and, when finished, he rose and said :

“The judges have put down many things which they have no right to draw from my confession. Let this protest be added. I have thought, too, that my lords the states general would have had enough in my life blood; and that my infant children might keep what belongs

to them. Is this my recompense for forty-three years' service to these provinces?"

The president, de Voogel, then rose and said:

"Your sentence has been pronounced. Away, away!"

The aged prisoner said no more, but passed out upon the scaffold, escorted by a file of soldiers.

The usual ceremonies took place at the death-scene. A vast crowd awaited in silence while prayers were offered, and while he came forward and addressed them in these words:

"Men, do not believe that I am a traitor to the country. I have ever acted uprightly and loyally as a good patriot, and as such I shall die."

He then took his cap from the hand of his valet and drew it over his eyes, saying: "Christ shall be my guide. O Lord, my Heavenly Father, receive my spirit!" As he knelt over the sand prepared to receive his head, he said to the executioner, "Be quick!" A single stroke severed his head from his body, and all was over.

His age was seventy-one years, seven months, and eighteen days.

The judicial proceedings in the cases of Hoogerbeets and Grotius were similar to those of Barneveldt. The sentence pronounced upon them was not death, but perpetual imprisonment. They were taken to the castle of Loerestein, and confined in separate apartments. They were allowed the company of their wives; and twenty-four stuivers, or two shillings, a day were allowed for the support of their respective families.

The wife of Hoogerbeets fell sick and died at Loerestein, leaving six children. Three of the judges had gone to him, after his sentence, and urged him to ask a pardon, or to permit his family to ask it. His reply was: "If my wife and children do ask, I will protest against it. I need no pardon. Let justice have its course. Think not, gentlemen, that I mean by asking for pardon to justify your proceedings." The judges replied, "Then you will fare as Barneveldt. The scaffold is still standing."

The wife of Grotius was a woman of noble mind, and tenderly devoted to her husband. She refused to solicit pardon for him, and shared his

imprisonment until by her contrivance he escaped. He employed his time in extensive reading and writing. The professors of Leyden sent him books, and Erpenius, the orientalist, used to send a large chest full of books. These were forwarded to him through the agency of Daatselaer, a merchant at Gorcham, a near village, who was married to the sister of Erpenius. One day Grotius's wife asked Madame Daatselaer if she would be troubled to have her husband suddenly appear at her house. "O no," she replied, "only let him come. We will take excellent care of him." A few days after the chest was brought to her back room in charge of Elsje, the maid-servant of Grotius, who whispered in her ear, "I have got my master here in your back parlor." In her surprise the good woman came near fainting; but, rallying, she went with Elsje to the chest. "Master! master!" cried the girl, rapping on the cover. There was no answer. "My God!" she exclaimed, "my poor master is dead." Presently a rap and her master's voice assured her that he was alive and well. "Open the

chest," he said. "I am not dead, but did not at first recognize your voice." The heroic Elsje soon left to inform her mistress of the success of her scheme thus far, while the good people of the house concealed the fugitive, provided him clothing to disguise himself, and attendants in escaping to Antwerp.

Louis XIII welcomed him to Paris, and gave him a pension of three thousand livres. By invitation of Frederick Henry, who succeeded Maurice as prince of Orange and stadholder of Holland, he returned to his native land; but his enemies procured against him a decree of perpetual banishment. He went to Stockholm by invitation of Oxenstiern, minister of Queen Christina, by whom, in 1634, he was made ambassador of Sweden to the court of France, in which office he remained ten years. Returning to Sweden by the way of Amsterdam, he was received in that city with enthusiasm. His enemies being dead, Queen Christina dismissed him with honor from her service, to return to his beloved Holland. A storm drove the ship in which he embarked to

Pomerania, where he fell sick and died August 28, 1645. He was the greatest scholar of his age—a poet, a philologist, and a philosopher. His great work, “*De Jure Belli et Pacis*,” laid the foundation of a new science of jurisprudence.

The persecution of the Arminians was worthy of the days of the Inquisition and Philip II. Their religious assemblies were interdicted, and a fine of twenty-five guilders was inflicted on every one convicted of attending, or refusing to report his fellow-worshipers. A fine of two hundred guilders was inflicted on any one accepting the office of deacon, or renting a place of worship to the Arminians. Afterwards five hundred guilders were offered for the arrest of a Remonstrant minister and three hundred for a theological student, and the same for all who harbored them. No such edicts were pronounced against Lutherans or Anabaptists, Catholics or Jews. Two hundred ministers were deprived of their benefices, and eighty were banished from the land. The professors and students of the proscribed sect were expelled from the University of Leyden.

Still, the Arminians persisted in holding meetings; and when the magistrates and soldiers broke up their assemblies in the towns they resorted to the woods and the open fields. Many fled to the Belgic provinces, and were protected by the archduke; but nothing could alienate them from their native states. Wytenbogaert nobly declared that the king of Spain could never seduce them to revolt against the republic. Many went to Holstein, where some of them founded the town of Frederickstadt on the Eyder. To the disgrace of England, the Remonstrants dreaded to put themselves under the power of their persecuting king.

In 1621, the truce with Spain having expired, hostilities commenced in good earnest. Spinola laid siege to Juliers, and captured it. He then turned to invade the republic, and laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom. Prince Maurice anticipated him by throwing into the garrison a strong reinforcement made up of Scotch and English mercenaries. Soon after he arrived in person, bringing with him large supplies of every kind. Ernest, Count

Mansfield, re-enforced him with a large body of troops. Spinola thereupon abandoned his project of invading Zealand, and raised the siege.

In 1624 Spinola formed the design of capturing Breda, a fortified town belonging to the family of Nassau. Immediately Maurice sent to re-enforce the garrison seven thousand troops. While the siege was progressing, he took possession of Ginnep, Mendelberg, and Cleves, and thence marched to relieve Breda.

The great generals were now again face to face on the open field. But for some unexplained cause Maurice declined battle, and withdrew his forces, leaving Breda to contend unassisted against Spinola. His prestige seems to have deserted him since he lost the counsel and support of the great advocate. "As long as the old rascal was alive," he said, in the blunt language of the camp, "we had counsels and money. Now there is no finding either the one or the other."

His feelings were embittered by the conspiracy of the two sons of Barneveldt to take his life. William, the principal agitator, escaped; but his

brother, Reiner, who had been seduced by William to aid the project with money, was taken, and brought to the scaffold. His mother threw herself at the feet of the stadtholder and implored his mercy. When asked why she sought pardon for her son, when she had refused to do the same for her husband, she nobly replied: "I did not ask pardon for my husband, because he was innocent; I ask it for my son, because he is guilty."

After withdrawing from Breda, Maurice was attacked with a disease of the liver, which threatened his life. He sent for Frederick Henry, and conferred with him on the prospect before him. He had been somewhat cold toward Frederick Henry on account of his sympathy with the Remonstrants, but he now showed a conciliatory disposition. He withdrew the objection he had made to his marriage with Amelia, princess of Solms.

A few months later he succumbed to his maladies and died, at the age of fifty-seven years and eight months.

With the exception of certain legacies to his

sister, the princess of Portugal, and to Anne of Mechlin, by whom he had two sons, he left his possessions and titles to Prince Frederick Henry. He was never married. The custom of princes marrying persons of their own rank often interfered with the choice of the heart, and they were tempted to violate the Christian law of marriage.

The states general immediately conferred on Frederick Henry the office of captain-general of all the land and naval forces; and in a short time he was made stadholder of all the provinces except Groningen and Friesland.

His son William was married to Mary, daughter of Charles I of England, and their son, William Henry, was married to the daughter of James II, and became king of England, under the title of William III.

The present king of Holland is a descendant of the house of Orange.

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